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ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
O R,  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY.  
PUBLISHED BY  
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.  
VOLUME IX.



L O N D O N,  
Printed by J. NICHOLS, Printer to the SOCIETY:  
Sold at their APARTMENTS in SOMERSET PLACE; and by Messieurs WHITE,  
ROBSON and CLARKE, LEIGH and SOTHEY, BROWN, and EGERTONS.  
M. DCC LXXXIX.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 101

LECTURE 1



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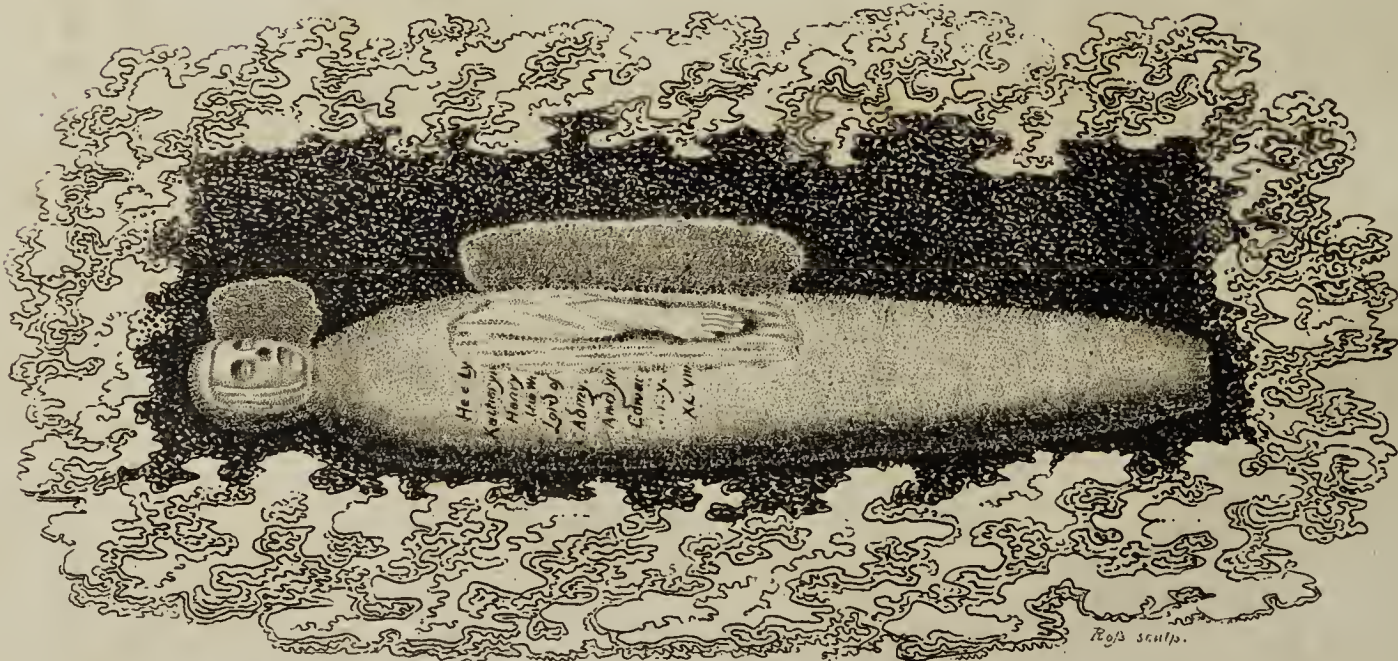
He. e Lyethe quene  
Katheryne Wife to Kyng  
Henry the viii and  
the wife of Thomas  
Lord of Sudely high  
Admy... of Englonde  
And ynkle to Kyng  
Edward the vi

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XL VIII



Chapel of Sudely Castle.



Reis sculp.

The Body of Queen Katherine Parr, found at Sudely Castle in Gloucestershire 1782.

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A R C H A E O L O G I A :

O R,

M I S C E L L A N E O U S T R A C T S, &c.

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I. *Observation on the Time of the Death and Place of Burial of Queen Katharine Parr. By the Rev. Treadway Nash, D. D. F. A. S.*

Read June 14, 1787.

**A**S it is the plan of the Society of Antiquaries to give attention to discoveries however trifling, which may tend to illustrate any point of English history, I now take the liberty of laying before them some circumstances which clearly ascertain the time of the death, and burying place of Katharine Parr, sixth and last wife of Henry the Eighth. If no account of this discovery hath by any one been laid before the Society, I wish this to be read, as George Ballard the industrious Antiquary of Cambden, a town about ten miles from Sudley, says, the particulars of

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the death and burial of this lady are *desiderata*, and his ignorance of it appears the more extraordinary, as his business of a stay-maker must often have led him into those parts.

Indeed my late worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Granger, says, “The Rev. Mr. Hugget, a very accurate Antiquary, has given undoubted authority for the death of this Queen in the Castle of Sudley in Gloucestershire, September 5, 1548; and for her interment in the Chapel there.” Probably he alludes to a MS. in the Heralds College, intituled, “A book of Buryalls of trew Noble Persons, N<sup>o</sup> 15, p. 98, 99, entitled a breviare of the interment of the Ladye Katheryn Parre, Quene Dowager, &c.”—which goes on,

“Item, on Wenyfdaye the 5. Septembre, between 2 or 3 of the clocke in the morninge died the aforesaid Ladye, late Quene Dowager, at the Castle of Sudley in Gloucestershire, 1548, and lyeth buried in the Chappell of the said Castle.

“Item, she was ceared and cheftid in lead accordinglie, and so remained, &c.”

This account being published in Rudder's new History of Gloucestershire, raised the curiosity of some ladies, who happened to be at the Castle in May 1782, to examine the ruined Chapel, and observing a large block of alabaster, fixed in the North wall of the Chapel, they imagined it might be the back of a monument formerly placed there. Led by this hint they opened the ground not far from the wall; and not much more than a foot from the surface they found a leaden envelope which they opened in two places, on the face and breast, and found it to contain a human body wrapped in cerecloth. Upon removing what covered the face, they discovered the features, and particularly the eyes, in perfect preservation. Alarmed at this sight, and with the smell, which came principally from the cere-



cerecloth, they ordered the ground to be thrown in immediately without judiciously closing up the cerecloth and lead, which covered the face: only observing enough of the inscription to convince them that it was the body of Queen Katharine.

In May 1784 some persons having curiosity again to open the grave, found that the air, rain, and dirt, having come to the face, it was entirely destroyed, and nothing left but the bones. It was then immediately covered up, and no farther search made.

October 14, 1786, I went to Sudley [a], in company with the Hon. John Sommers Cocks, and Mr. John Skipp of Ledbury, having previously obtained leave of Lord Rivers, the owner of the Castle, to examine the Chapel. Upon opening the ground, and heaving up the lead, we found the face totally decayed, the bones only remaining; the teeth, which were found, had fallen out of their sockets. The body, I believe, is perfect, as it has never been opened: we thought it indelicate and indecent to uncover it; but observing the left hand to lie at a small distance from the body, we took off the cerecloth, and found the hand and nails perfect, but of a brownish colour; the cerecloth consisted of many folds of coarse linen, dipped in wax, tar, and perhaps some gums: over this was wrapt a sheet of lead fitted exactly close to the body.

I could not perceive any remains of a wooden coffin. On that part of the lead which covered the breast was the inscription similar to the etching hereunto annexed.

The Queen must have been low of stature, as the lead which inclosed her corpse was but five feet four inches long. The letters K. P. above the inscription was the signature she com-

[a] Sudley is situated near to Winchcombe, about 13 miles from Gloucester, and about 8 from Cheltenham.

monly used, though sometimes she signs herself, “Keteryn the Quene.”—It seems at first extraordinary she should be buried so near the surface of the ground, but we should consider, that a pavement, and perhaps some earth had been taken away, since she was first interred, and as she was buried within the Communion-rails, probably that ground might be formerly two or three steps higher than the rest of the Chapel [b].

I could heartily wish more respect were paid to the remains of this amiable though unfortunate Queen, and would willingly, with proper leave, have them wrapt in another sheet of lead and coffin, and decently interred in some proper place, that at least after her death her body might remain in peace; whereas the Chapel where she now lies is used for the keeping of rabbits, which make holes and scratch very indecently about her Royal corpse. Besides the Queen, many other eminent persons are buried in this Chapel, Sir John Bruges created Lord Chandos of Sudely, in the reign of Queen Mary (ancestor to the present Duke of Chandos), his son Edmund Lord Chandos, Giles Lord Chandos, and Grey Lord Chandos, who, for the great interest he had in those parts, was called the King of Coteswold; and George Lord Chandos, who had three horses killed under him at the Battle of Newbury, in defence of King Charles the First. All these, together with many eminent men, lie neglected in the ruined Chapel of Sudley.

The Chapel was an elegant building in the Gothic style, ornamented with a tower, battlements, and pinnacles, probably of a later date than the Castle, which, though it was much altered and improved by the High Admiral, doth not appear as if built by him from the foundation, but of an age prior to that

[b] Her head lies to the West, and her feet to the East, so that rising upon her feet, her face would be to the East.

of Henry the Seventh. Indeed, great part of the Castle was built by Ralph le Boteler, Lord of Sudley, 20 Henry VI. out of the spoils taken from the French. He was Treasurer of England, and Admiral at Sea, where he took Portman a Frenchman prisoner, with whose ransom he built one of the towers, which from his name was called Portman's Tower [c]. It was probably *then* a very magnificent palace, for the owner of it, when arrested by Henry the Fourth, as he was being conveyed to London, looked back upon Sudley Castle, and was heard to say, "Sudley Castle, thou art the Traytor, not I."

From the epitaph written by Dr. Parkhurst, chaplain to Queen Katharine, as well as from the style of the building, I should think the *Chapel* was intirely built by the brother of the Protector Somerset; for the brothers were both great patrons of the arts, and Sudley Castle might once have rivalled Somerset House in the Strand, and had this advantage, that it was not founded so much on rapine, and devastation of private property.—But to return to Queen Katharine.

Katharine Parr was born about the year 1510. She was the eldest of the daughters of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal in Westmoreland. Her father, though not rich, bestowed on her a learned education, which at that time was much in fashion: her fine parts and great application enabled her to make improvements suitable to the opportunities allowed her. Her person and deportment were amiable, though she was not esteemed a beauty. Her father by his last will gave her a fortune of £.400. a portion even at that time small for the daughter of a country gentleman. Sir Thomas likewise in his will bequeaths to his son a gold chain given him by the King, of the value of £.140.—If the royal present had not been highly esteemed,

[c] See Atkins's Gloucestershire, p. 369.

the chain would have been sold, and increased his daughter's fortune.

Katharine was early married to Edward Burghe; after his death, to John Neville Lord Latimer, a nobleman of large property in Worcestershire, and other counties; for George Neville Lord Latimer, marrying Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, had the manors of Great Cumberton, Wadborough, and other estates in our county, which, on his marriage, John Lord Latimer settled on Katharine Parr in jointure, and she held them during her life.

I do not find how long her first or second husband lived with her, but she was [d] married to the King at Hampton Court, July 12, 1543, at the latter end of that Monarch's life, when he was violent and cruel, so that, in all probability, she enjoyed with him but little happiness or quiet. Indeed, she was near paying for her royalty with her life, for as she had been taught from her infancy to enquire into the principles of her religion, she could not help arguing sometimes with the King; a thing he could never bear, especially in matters of religion, in which he thought every one should conform to his ideas, and deemed it the highest presumption, that Kate, as he called her, should turn Doctor, and pretend to instruct him; by the instigation therefore of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, he ordered the Chancellor Wriothesley to arrest her, and convey her to the Tower, from whence she would probably have ended her days upon a scaffold, if her adroitness and submission had not appeased the wrath of her husband. With this tyrant she lived three years, six months, and five days, and only escaped his

[d] It is to be observed that though a widow when she married the King, yet she was distinguished by her maiden name. So the wife of Edward IV. was called Elizabeth Widville, and not Elizabeth Grey.

clutches, to fall into worse hands. She loved learning, and was a great patron of it, being herself well informed. She interceded earnestly for the University of Cambridge, which was in danger of sharing the fate of the monasteries [e]. She was of a religious turn, composed many letters, prayers, and pious meditations both in Latin and English. I shall quote one prayer, which breathes the true spirit of Humanity and Christianity. It was written during the French war, and the King's expedition into France, and seems preferable to the prayer directed by our liturgy to be used in time of war. It runs thus: "Our cause being just, and being  
" enforced to enter into war and battle, we most humbly be-  
" seech thee, O Lord God of Hosts, so to turn the hearts of  
" our enemies to the desire of peace, that no Christian blood be  
" spilt; or else, grant, O Lord; that with small effusion of blood,  
" and to the little hurt of innocents, we may, to thy glory,  
" obtain victory, and that, the wars being soon ended, we may  
" all with one heart and mind, knit together in concord and  
" unity, laud and praise thee, O Lord."—This to my ears sounds better than, "abate their pride, assuage their malice, and con-  
" found their devices."

The fairest characters may easily admit a stain, and the most immaculate are not secure from the breath of scandal: even Queen Katharine is charged with too great a partiality for Sir Thomas Seymour, and with an affection for him before she married the King. This affection revived after the death of her royal husband, if it did not continue during his life: however it is certain she soon and privately married Sir Thomas, "so soon,  
" that it is said, if she had early proved pregnant it might have  
" been doubtful whose child it was," but she was not delivered.

[e] See her Letter in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

for a year and half after the king's death. This match was attended with the fate of most clandestine marriages, the misery and ruin of the female; for, cruel as Henry was, Katharine escaped better from the clutches of the King, than from the ill usage and treachery of her beloved Seymour. She died the seventh day after she was delivered of a daughter (whom the father before his execution committed to the care of the Dutchess of Suffolk), of a broken heart, not without suspicion of poison [f].

Thus did a hard fate attend this amiable woman. The ambition of Seymour, the object of her choice, was not satisfied with marrying the Queen Dowager, but he aimed at a match with the Princess Elizabeth, by which he hoped he might one day become husband to the Queen regent, if not King of England: besides, the pride of her sister in law, and the ill temper of her husband, whom she adored to the last, and who had every external qualification calculated to captivate the female heart, were constant sources of misery to this unfortunate woman.

Strype has given us an Epitaph written by her chaplain, Dr. Parkhurst, afterward Bishop of Norwich, which perhaps was engraved on the monument erected for her in the Chapel of Sudley castle: it is as follows;

Hoc Regina novo dormit Katharina sepulchro,  
 Sexus foeminei flos, honor, atque decus:  
 Hæc fuit Henrico conjux fidissima regi,  
 Quem postquam e vivis Parca tulisset atrox,  
 Thomæ Seymero (cui tu, Neptune, tridentem  
 Porrigis) eximio nupserat illa viro:  
 Huic peperit natam; a partu cum septimus orbem  
 Sol illustrasset, mors truculenta necat.

[f] This heavy charge is founded on the Salisbury papers published by Haynes, p. 103, 104.

*and Plate of Burial of Queen Katharine Parr.*

Defunctam madidis famuli deflemus ocellis,  
Humescit tristes terra Britannia genas :  
Nos infelices mœror consumit acerbus,  
Inter cœlestes gaudet at illa choros.

Englified thus :

In this new tomb the royal Kath'rine lies,  
Flower of her sex, renowned, great, and wise.  
A wife by every nuptial virtue known,  
And faithful partner once of Henry's throne.  
To Seymour next her plighted hand she yields  
(Seymour who Neptune's trident justly wields);  
From him a beauteous daughter blest'd her arms,  
An infant copy of her parent's charms.  
When now seven days this tender flower had bloom'd,  
Heaven in it's wrath the mother's soul resum'd.  
Great Kath'rine's merit in our grief appears,  
While fair Britannia dews her cheek with tears,  
Our loyal breasts with rising sighs are torn,  
With saints she triumphs, we with mortals mourn.

There is an original picture of her in the gallery at Lambeth  
over the chimney-piece.

II. *An Account of the Discovery of the Corpse of one of the Abbots of Gloucester. In a Letter from Mr. John Cooke, Surgeon, of that City, to Charles Marsh, Esq. F. R. and A. S. S.*

Read June 21, 1787.

**I**N the year 1741, Bishop Benson, at his single expence, for the better securing of the organ, which had been removed some years before from the South side of the choir, gave order that a screen with proper pillars should be erected. During the course of this work a stone coffin containing the corpse of an abbot was discovered. Very lately it was thought proper that the whole of the pavement of the body of the church should be new laid, to which the late Chancellor Benson very liberally contributed. It was begun in his life-time. This occasioned the same coffin to be again exposed, and by this it is also to be apprehended that many very antient grave stones must be destroyed, and the modern ones removed from the vaults they covered to distinct places, to effect the uniformity of the flooring. On Monday the 7th of March last I had past through the Cathedral at the time when the same graves were just exposed. Several persons were standing round the venerable remains, and I was called upon to be a spectator of that awful sight. My attention was instantly fixt, and I made a sketch which I have since perfected.







perfected [a]. Had I not accidentally past at the time of the removal of the stones which concealed the above coffin, it is probable we might not have had this opportunity of illustrating the annals of our abbots. The stone coffin in which the corpse was laid, was so near the surface that it had no other covering but the old pavement. The deceased appeared to have been buried in a robe or gown, and leathern boots: the leather still retaining a degree of firmness, nor had it totally lost its elastic quality. The robe was decayed; for although it had the appearance of folds in several parts, yet when toucht it was found to be nothing but powder or dust; the bones were not injured.

Anatomists tell us, “bodies may be discovered in vaults seeming perfect and sound, because the earth in every part of the animal still retains a degree of adhesion, though every other principle is destroyed, such bodies are not putrid (for it does not follow that animals always became putrid after death) yet when exposed to air or on the touch crumble into dust.”

There was in the hand of the deceased a crozier neatly adorned with silver, which had been gilt and burnished. It was chiefly of wood, and the staff perfectly hard and sound. When first seen by me it was intire. The drawing gives an exact copy of it, as to size, form, &c. There were also some remnants of other symbols, marking the grave of an abbot. Our monastic history informs us, that JOHN WIGMORE, or WYGMOR, prior, was made abbot in 1329, and dying on the 12th of the Kalends of March 1337, was buried in the South side, near the entrance of the choir, which he inclosed. On this very spot was this stone coffin. It is of one stone only, hewn out for the reception of the body. The cavity in which the corpse, &c. was laid measures in length six feet six inches and an half; its form as represented in the drawing I have sent. The crozier was removed

[a] See plate II.

by some person in 1741, when it was first discovered; but the pious bishop, who considered the remains of his predecessor as sacred, ordered that it should be immediately replaced, and commanded that no further liberties might be taken with any thing appertaining to the deceased. But this humane order was not strictly observed, as several persons cut off pieces of the gown or robe, in appearance a kind of ferge. One of the sextons was known to have a remnant of this robe in his pocket for many years. I have heard also of the remains of the gloves and other ornaments not very exactly described by those who saw them. As to the sketch herewith sent, it has been seen by some of those people, who agree that as well as they can recollect it resembles what they saw at the time of the former opening of the pavement. Two of these persons saw it after the second opening, and all agree in sentiment, and I have the satisfaction to hear them declare it to be a faithful representation.

I am to add, this strongly proves that a dry situation near the surface of the ground, where nothing is near the body but a porous stone, is one of the best preservatives for the animal frame, and in that situation the bones may remain without injury 400 years.

On the day following I made another visit to the place; beheld the grave was filled up with rubbish, and the sacred bones of the venerable old man were scattered, his skull broken in pieces, and my distress not easy to be described. Several persons were standing round the grave. A few days after this one of the vergers called on me at my request, and brought with him the remains of the head of the abbot's crozier, that I might correct my drawing by it if necessary. The master of the workmen has great part of the stick or staff which belonged to  
it;

it, and I had from the sexton a piece of the boot. The motive which induced the workmen to disturb the body seems to have been the searching after spurs. If this narrative of facts has your approbation, and you think proper to lay it before the Society, you will do me honour.

I remain with great esteem,

Sir, your obliged and obedient humble servant,

*Gloucester, April 18, 1787.*

JOHN COOKE.

III. *Letter from Count de Bruhl, Envoy from the Elector of Saxony, and Knight of the White Eagle of Poland, F. R. and A. SS. to the Hon. Daines Barrington, containing some Chess Anecdotes of the present Century.*

Read May 3, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

I FIND myself very much honoured by the very able and learned Dissertation you have been pleased to address to me, and, in compliance with your commands, I have sent it to the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, to which I can easily conceive it must prove a very valuable acquisition. Perhaps, before it is sent to the press, you would wish to add some notices concerning two eminent players in France, and likewise make use of the inclosed anecdote.

One of the first rate players in France was a Monsieur de Grosmenil, who died at an advanced age about the year 28 or 30 of this century, and, who had attained such a superior skill that Mr. de Légal who is still living, though turned of 80, told me when I was last at Paris, in Nov. 1785, that Mr. de Grosmenil generally beat him every game of which he had the move. Mr. de Légal is allowed to be even now the best player after Philidor, who owes chiefly to his instruction the superior skill he possesses. The late Chancellor Daguefféau was also an excellent player, to whom neither Mr. de Légal nor

*Letter from Count de Bruhl to Mr. Barrington.* 15

Philidor could have given the pawn and move. By all accounts the best player this country (England) has produced, was the late Sir Abraham Jansen, who used to play on even terms with Philidor, and to whom he could not give more than the pawn for the move; an advantage which amounts to little more than the first move.

I have the honour to be, with the highest regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

humble servant,

*Dover street, March 19, 1787.*

Ct. DE BRUHL.

Count de Brühl presents his compliments to Mr. Norris, and begs leave to transmit to him the inclosed Dissertation of Mr. D. Barrington, for the use of the Society, to whom he has reason to hope it will prove a very valuable acquisition, from the many curious and interesting notices which it contains concerning the origin and progress of a game, which would deserve the name of a science, if its utility was not limited to those who understand it.

At

*An Historical Disquisition on the Game of Chefs;*  
*addressed to Count de Bruhl, F. A. S. By the*  
*Hon. Daines Barrington.*

Read May 10, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

AS you are so distinguished a player at Chefs, what I have lately gleaned with regard to the introduction of this most capital game into Europe cannot but be interesting to you.

Most of the treatises written on this subject have rather been calculated to teach the manner in which this game should be played, than to illustrate its antiquities.

From these, however, I must except Hyde in his most excellent History of *Eastern Games* [a], in which there is much Oriental, as well as other learning.

It seems to be generally agreed that we derive Chefs from Asia, and most writers have supposed from Persia [b]; but I cannot give up the claim of the Chinese as inventors, though Hyde inclines against it, and chiefly because they have some

[a] There is besides a long article on this subject in Menage's Dictionary, and a Dissertation of M. Freret's in the Vth vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions; I do not by this mean that they are the only treatises upon chefs.

[b] From the names of some of the pieces.

additional



additional pieces, which differ from ours, both in their form and powers [c]. This single circumstance, however, by no means appears conclusive to me, because in all countries where any game hath been of long continuance, the players will make innovations, though it remains the same in substance, as I shall be able to prove happened in Italy, where *Archescacchiere*, or *Arch-chefs* [d], was introduced. Du Halde, however, cites a Chinese treatise, by which it appears, that it is the favourite game of that country, and as such is sometimes depicted upon Chinese paper. In Thibet also Chefs is much in vogue, as it is throughout Bengal and Indostan, with a native of which I have myself played, nor do the moves or rules differ materially from our own. It is therefore highly probable, that Thibet and Indostan received Chefs from the long [e] civilised empire of China, rather than from Persia, which it might reach in its progress westward through Indostan.

If this most interesting game was known in Persia, whilst Alexander, or his successors, continued there, they would undoubtedly have introduced it into Greece, and its name would certainly have been delivered down to us, together with the pieces and their moves.

This now brings me to consider the Grecian claim to the invention, which some learned writers [f] have carried back even

[c] Hyde procured this information from a Chinese of Nankin, named Foking, in which part of China probably these alterations had been lately introduced.

[d] The board at *Arch-Chefs* had 100 squares, instead of 64.—See Fr. Piacenza. Torino 1683, 4to.

[e] I may add, continuing to be civilised through such a succession of centuries.

[f] Amongst these, Vossius, Salmasius, and P. Sirmond.

to the siege of Troy, attributing it to Palamedes. Most of the passages relied upon in proof of this opinion, are to be found in that amazing Treasure of Greek Literature, Henry Stephens's Thesaurus, article Πέσσοις, or *pebble* [g].

Having examined all these passages, I may venture to say that none of them relate to Chés, because there is not the most distant allusion to the putting the Enemy's King in such a situation that he cannot be extricated, which is the great object of each player.

But as so many learned writers have laboured this point, it would perhaps be improper to rest the whole refutation upon the above mentioned observation, and I shall therefore consider some of the principal citations from which it is inferred, that Chés was known to the Greeks and Romans.

The first of these is a line in the first book of the Odysséy, where it is said that Penelope's suitors thus amused themselves [b] before the gates of Ulysses's palace. It is clear, however, from this passage, that it only proves the suitors played at some game with *pebbles* [πέσσοις], but what that game was we are totally uninformed. As it took place, however, in the open air, it is much more likely that it resembled a very common game at every school, called *Hop-scot*, than the sedentary amusement of chés. Unfortunately for the former supposition, Athenæus in his first book gives us from a native of Ithaca (whose name was Cteson) a very particular account of the method of playing the game of *πέτλεια*, by Penelope's suitors, which differs most materially from Chés, as the pieces were in number 108, instead of 32. The principal piece moreover (named

[g] Sometimes written Πέτλος, and the game Πέτλεια.

[b] Πέσσοιςι προπαράθε θυραυν θυμου έστρον.

Penelope)

*Penelope*) was placed in the vacant space between the two sets, whilst each player endeavoured to *strike* Penelope twice, in which if he succeeded, he was supposed to have better pretensions than the other suitors.

Though Chefs is supposed to have been known thus early in Ithaca, yet the invention of this ingenious game hath been commonly attributed to Palamedes.

This Greek lived during the Trojan War, and was so renowned for his sagacity, that almost every early discovery was ascribed to him, insomuch that he hath been celebrated for that most notable of all inventions, viz. *The eating three meals a day* [i].

The chief authority, however, for his being the inventor of Chefs, is the following line from Sophocles,

Εφευρε [sc. Palamedes,] πεσσοις, κυβοις τε, τερπνον αργιας ακος [k].

Agreeable, however, to the observation before made upon the passage, from the first book of the *Odyfsey*, nothing more can be inferred from this line, than that he invented some game which was played with pebbles [πεσσοις].

We find therefore that the whole of Palamedes's claim rests upon what the game of *πετρεια* (or pebbles) was, as played by the Greeks; there being little clue from any author whom I have happened to consult to guide us, any more than the mere name.

[i] *δειπνα θ'αιρεισθαι τρια*. Lloyd's Poetical Dictionary, article *Palamedes*; where he refers to a tragedy of *Æschylus* for this passage.

[k] By this line the invention of dice is also attributed to Palamedes, which ingenious discovery, it is much wished for the benefit of society, that he had reserved to himself.

I think, however, that I can discover why the term of  $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  in Greek hath so often been rendered *Chess*, whilst the origin of the game is carried so far back as the time of Palamedes.

The Grecian Judges of the early times seem to have been very corrupt, in so much that Hesiod brands them with the name of  $\delta\omega\rho\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota$ , or *devourers of bribes*; but Palamedes, having contrived the method of voting by ballot [1], in some measure prevented this most shameful practice, whilst the decision for or against the criminal was given by putting into an urn white or black *pebbles*:

Mos erat huic populo, niveis atrisque lapillis,  
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpâ. Ovid. Met. l. xv.

And again:

————— et omnis  
Calculus immitem demittitur ater in urnam.

Now the game of  $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  [m] being played with white and black pebbles, and in process of time the original proposer of obliging the judges to pass sentence by ballot being forgot, Palamedes became inventor of the game  $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , because it was played with white and black pebbles, which were also used by the judges in giving their decisions.

Having gone through the most material authorities which are to be found in the Greek writers, and having endeavoured:

[1] Lloyd, Dict. Poet. Art. *Palamedes*.

[m] Herodotus ascribes the invention of most games to the Lydians amongst which he enumerates  $\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota$  together with *dice* and *balls*. But the cause of these inventions is highly ridiculous. Lydia had been visited by a famine, and the inhabitants abstained from eating every other day for 18 years, whilst they were thus amused. — Clio.

to shew that these passages cannot relate to Chess, I shall now consider some of the principal authorities in Latin, which are relied upon for the same purpose.

The game called  $\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$  in Greek was by the Romans termed *Calculi* [n], or *Latrunculi* [o], and we have fortunately such a description by Ovid how it was played, that no person who is acquainted with the moves even at Chess, can read it with attention, and conceive that it is alluded to.

Cautaque non stultè latronum prælia ludat  
 Unus cum gemino calculus hoste perit.  
 Bellatorque suo prensus sine compare bellat  
 Æmulus, & cæptum sæpe recurrit iter.  
 Reticuloque pilæ læves funduntur aperto,  
 Nec nisi quam tolles, ulla movenda pila est.  
 Est genus in totidem tenui ratione redactum  
 Scriptula; quot menses lubricus annus habet.  
 Parva tabella capit, ternos utrinque lapillos  
 In quâ vicisse est, continuasse suos.

Ovid. Am. l. iii. 357—366.

I must confess that, after this very particular description, I do not thoroughly comprehend how this Roman game was played, but negatively it cannot be *Chess*.

Ovid in the first place gives it as his general advice to the Roman ladies, that they should play well at *Calculi* or *Latrunculi*:

*Cautaque non stultè latronum prælia ludat.*

[n] Hic mihi bis seno numeratur tessera puncto,

*Calculus hic gemino discolor hoste perit.* MARTIAL, l. xiv.

Which two lines are written upon a present of a board for that game.

[o] Probably so styled from the unexpected attacks which the players made on each other.

Now

Now though ladies are undoubtedly capable of being great adepts at Chefs, yet I think the Roman poet would not particularly recommend as an amusement to his female disciples, a game which requires so much consideration, and very intense attention.

But, not to rely upon this observation, though it seems to deserve some weight, the second line, which makes it *necessary* for two pieces being employed in taking one, is not applicable to Chefs:

*Unus cum gemino discolor hoste perit.*

By the 5th line again:

*“ Reticuloque pilæ læves funduntur aperto,”*

it should seem that all the peices were uniform, and that they were thrown as dice are out of a box.

By the 7th and 8th line *the squares* or *divisions* were but 12; at least so I understand *scriptula*:

*“ Est genus in totidem tenui ratione reductum,*

*“ Scriptula, quot menses lubricus annus habet.*

And lastly, by the ninth line the number of the pieces (or pebbles) were only 6, instead of 32:

*“ Parva tabella capit ternos utrinque lapillos.”*

The next authority produced by those who suppose that Chefs was known to the Romans, is that of a poem sometimes ascribed to Lucan; but that it was really written by any of the ancients seems rather uncertain, as Maittaire hath not given it a place in his “*Corpus Poetarum Latinorum.*” Be this, however, as it may, I shall cite the lines at length, as it is not to be found

found in every library, and must be allowed to contain stronger allusions to what may be deemed Chess, than any of the other passages which have been quoted [p]:

- “ Te si fortè juvat studiorum pondere fessum
- “ Non languere tamen, lusufque movere per artem;
- “ Callidiorè modo tabulâ variatur apertâ
- “ Calculus, & vitreo peraguntur milite bella,
- “ Ut niveus nigros, nunc & niger alliget albos.
- “ Sed tibi quis non terga dedit, quis te duce cessit
- “ Calculus, aut quis non periturus perdidit hostem?
- “ Mille modis acies tua dimicat, ille petentem
- “ Dum fugit, ipse rapit, longo venit ille recessu
- “ Qui stetit in speculis, hic se committere rixæ
- “ Audet, & in prædam venientem decipit hostem.
- “ Ancipites subit ille moras, similisque ligato
- “ Obligat ille duos, hic ad majora movetur,
- “ Ut citus & fractâ prorumpat in agmina mandrâ.
- “ Interea sectis quamvis acerrima surgunt
- “ Prælia militibus, plenâ tamen ipse phalange
- “ Aut etiam paucò spoliatâ milite vincis,
- “ Et tibi captivâ resonat manus utraque turbâ.”

Now it is admitted that these lines allude to some game of skill, which so far agrees with that of Chess; but it seems almost impossible that he who means to describe this game introducing so many particulars, should make no distinction either between the pieces or their moves, nor take notice of the great objects of Chess antagonists, to block up the adversary's King [q],

[p] The Poem is addressed to Caiurnius Piso.

[q] As a proof of this, no one can read two lines of Vida's famous Poem on Chess, which are not descriptive of some event peculiar to that game.

so that he hath no retreat. On the contrary the last line makes the conclusion of the game to consist merely in the greater number of pieces which are taken:

“ Et tibi captivâ resonat manus utraque turbâ [r].”

Having thus endeavoured to shew that Chés was neither known to the Greeks or Romans, I shall now descend to more modern authorities, which undoubtedly relate to Chés, and can mean no other game whatsoever.

The first mention which I have happened to meet with of a game that bears any affinity to *Scacchia* or Chés, is that in Du Fresne's “Glossarium Mediæ & Infimæ Græcitatæ,” under the article Ζαῖρικιον, where he cites a passage alluding to it from Anna Commena's 12th Book of her *Alexias*, as well as others from the Byzantine Historians. It is there stated that the Persians call it Σαῖραλζ, whilst the Constantinopolitan name is Σκακον.

One of these authorities supposes that Chés was received from Assyria, which probably may be true, but it should seem that the Assyrians had learnt it from countries more to the Eastward, as Sir Elijah Impey informs me that the board is still called *Satringe* [s] in Bengal, which term also signifies a carpet, from its being generally chequered as the Chés Board is.

As I shall however dwell rather more hereafter upon the claims of the more Eastern parts of Asia to the invention of Chés, I shall now only observe from some of these passages [t],

[r] I will add that the first line,

Te si fortè juvat studiorum pondere fessum,

Non languere tamen, &c.

cannot probably relate to chés, which can scarcely be considered as a recreation, whilst it requires so much consideration and attention.

[s] In Arabic it is termed *Shatvangj*.—See Hyde de *Ludis Orient*.

[t] For these at length, see Du Fresne, Art. Ζαῖρικιον.



that it was rather a common game at Constantinople in the twelfth century, when *Anna Comnena* flourished; and this I conceive will account for its introduction into Europe.

In the first crusades, before the destruction of the Eastern empire, the adventurers often made a stay at Constantinople (the Emperors of which were generally friendly to the Christian cause); and thus probably became acquainted with this bewitching game; which they introduced on their return to their respective countries.

With regard to the European nations, who thus had this opportunity of instructing themselves in Chess, there seems to be little doubt that it was first known to the Italians from their greater vicinity to Constantinople, as well as their early trade with the Eastern ports of the Mediterranean. We therefore find by Boccace [u] (who lived in the 14th century) that it was a most common amusement at Florence, and that there was a celebrated player who (like Phillidor) could beat two antagonists, without seeing either of the chess-boards [x].

If other proofs were wanting, the term of *Gambet* at Chess, which hath been introduced (it is believed) into most European languages, is clearly of Italian origin; for, “dare il gambet-

[u] “Chi andó dormire, e chi a ginocare con *scacchi*, e chi a tavole.—  
Decameron G. 6.

Again:

“Qui e bello e fresco stare, ed hacci come vedete, e tavolieri, e *schacchieri*.”  
Ibid. G. 7.

[x] His name was *Mangiolini*, though I cannot now refer to my authority. A Saracen, called Buzecca, was also a distinguished player at Florence, and flourished before *Mangiolini*.

“to [y]” signifies to throw down your adversary in wrestling, by placing your foot against his [z].

Chefs being thus introduced, continued to be the favourite game throughout Europe, till it was dropt for cards, not by their superiority surely, but because inferior players at other games had a better chance of winning. Before cards indeed had thus banished Chefs, it was in such vogue, that both the kings of Spain [a] and Portugal pensioned the great players, whilst they also staked considerable sums on the event of the game. We find therefore that three Italians set out from Naples for the court of Philip the Second [b], where there was a famous player, and by concealing their strength won very large sums.

This of course opened every one’s eyes, and it being impossible to know the full force of your antagonist, no one would play at Chefs for money, which therefore, like *drafts* [c], went into disuse.

Italy however continued to produce the greatest proficient at this game till the middle of the last century; and therefore

[y] See the Crusca Dictionary, Art. *Gambetto*.

[z] The term of *rook* is also Italian, and often signifies a *castle*:

“Sicura quasi *rocca* in alto monte.” Dante, Purg.

[a] Phillip II. to whom may be added Sebastian, King of Portugal, and many other distinguished persons of those times. Pietro Carrera on Chefs, 1617.

[b] This is mentioned by Salvio who was a Doctor of Laws, and may be said to have written the Memoirs of the most distinguished Chefs Players, in the sixteenth century. The name of the Spanish player above alluded to was Ruy Lopes. See Salvio on Chefs, Napoli, 4to. 1634. The Spaniards probably learnt chefs, or at least became adepts, during their Italian wars, and more particularly from the Neapolitans.

[c] I do not know from what nation we have borrowed this term of *drafts*. That of *dames* is more intelligible, as the common pieces, by reaching the top square of the antagonist, become *queens*.

Bayle, in his Historical Dictionary, hath given two articles to *Boi* of Syracuse [*d*], and Gioachino Greco [*e*] (commonly called the *Calabrian*) for their eminence at Chefs.

Thus much with regard to Italy [*f*], from whence all Europe seems to have derived its knowledge of this game; and perhaps Spain may have the next claim, for having produced early players of eminence, from what I have already mentioned with regard to Philip the Second having so much encouraged those who were great adepts, and who resorted to his court at Madrid, where they were sure of meeting with a protector.

As I am not aware of any decisive proofs, which give priority to the other nations of Europe after Italy and Spain, I shall now endeavour to state what I have been able to glean in relation to the introduction of chefs into this island. And here I

[*d*] His christian name was Paolo. He died at Naples in 1598, and his burial was attended by most of the nobility. See Pietro Carrera on Chefs, 1617, 4to. *Boi* was much regarded by Phillip II. and Urban VII. who is said to have offered him a Bishoprick, but *Boi* would not take orders. See *Ibid.* and also Salvio, who beat *Boi* at Naples, but when he was past 70.

[*e*] Probably thence born in the Morea, but early transplanted to Calabria. Though originally very poor, he won 50,000 ducats at Paris, by playing at chefs. From Paris he went to England, where he was nearly murdered, and lost most of his effects: from thence to India, where he died, and left his substance to the Jesuits.

[*f*] They who may wish to see more anecdotes with regard to the chefs players of the 16th century may consult the Italian writers before cited, and more particularly the Memoirs of Putti, who was termed the Cavalier Errante, or, Chefs Knight Errant. His real name was Leonardo da Cutti. When he was very young he was beat by a Spaniard (Rui Lopes) who afterwards returned to his own country.—In the mean time Putti shut himself up for two years, that he might become a greater proficient, after which he pursued Lopes to Madrid, and beat him. See also Mr. Twisse's curious Anecdotes of Chefs, published since this Dissertation was laid before the Society of Antiquaries.

cannot but dissent from Hyde's most learned treatise on this game, when he seems to suppose it known in England about the time of the Conquest, from the Court of Exchequer having been then first established. Now true it is that the Barons of the Exchequer sit with a table before them, which is covered with a chequered cloth; but the use of this cloth is, for settling the accounts to be passed before this court, the ceremony of which I have once seen, the sums being computed upon the squares; and if the computation made by one officer is right, another declares it to *be a good sum* [g]. It is possible that the chequer being so common a sign for a public house, may have formerly been for the same reason of charging the reckoning; and it is remarkable that the same sign was used at antient Pompeii, as appears by the engravings which are inserted in the fourth volume of the Archæologia [b].

It is possible however that Chefs might be known in England in the next century, after the first crusade had taken place; but I should rather suppose, during the 13th century, upon the return of Edward the First from the Holy-Land, where he continued so long, and was attended by so many English. The Turks, who never change their habits, are still great players at this game, which suits so well both their sedentary disposition.

[g] I am just informed that this ancient method of accounting hath been disused about two years ago. It took place in Easter Term, when the expences of the King's Household were passed. One officer called out, "*What have you there?*" To which another answered (having piled half-pence and farthings on the square, in a regular progression), "*such a sum.*" If this agreed with the supposed one by the first officer, he then pronounced it *a good sum*. Thus the account was understood by those who were present, though they could not write. Hence perhaps to *check* an account.

[b] Sec. Pl. XIV. p. 170.

and

and love of taciturnity. Many of these were often prisoners in the Christian camp, as were also the Christians to the Saracens, so that there were great opportunities of instruction during either of their confinements.

The first mention which I have met with of Chefs being known in England, is in a MS of Simon Aylward said by Hyde to be in the library of Magdalen College. The same learned writer cites another MS, and of Lydgate, where are the following lines.

“ Was of a *Fers* [*i*] so fortunate;  
“ Into a corner drive and maat.”

which are very intelligible if we suppose that the preceding line relates to the piece called *the King*, and they will then have the following meaning, viz.

“ The King was by a fortunate Queen (of the adversary) driven “ into a corner of the Chefs-Board, and Check-mated,” which of course concludes the game.

Our ancestors certainly played much at Chefs before the general introduction of cards, as no fewer than twenty-six English families have emblazoned Chefs-Boards and *Chefs-Rooks* [*k*] in their arms [*l*], and it therefore must have been considered as a valuable accomplishment. Hyde moreover states, that Chefs was much played at both in Wales and Ireland, and

[*i*] *Fers* is said to signify, in the Persian language, *General* or *Minister*, and is applied to that peice at Chefs, which we term the *Queen*.

[*k*] The Chefs-rook is now more commonly called *the castle*: its form may be seen in books of Blasonry, which hath not the least similitude to a castle. The no uncommon name of *Rook* may possibly be derived from hence, as also the term of being *rook'd* at play.

[*l*] See Edmondson's Heraldry.

that in the latter, estates had depended upon the event of a game.

I must own however that I have some doubts with regard to these facts, as neither of these countries were scarcely civilized till the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth. As for Wales, I doubt much whether they have a term for the game in their own language, which probably is true likewise in regard to the Irish.

In 1474 Caxton published his book, intituled, *The Game at Chefs* [m], which he dedicates to the duke of Clarence, and states to be a translation from the French : it therefore can be little doubted but that this game was not uncommon during the reign of Edward the Fourth. To this I may add, that it appears by Sir John Fenn's late curious publication, that it was an amusement in most houses of rank in the time of Richard the Third, where it is said, "The lady Morley had no harpinges or lutinges during Christmases ; but playing at *Tables and Chefs* [n]."

Chefs being therefore not an uncommon game during the reign of Edward the Fourth, of course continued to be played by our ancestors, till cards became the more general amusement. Sir Walter Raleigh is said by Hyde to have boasted that he could make the contest last as long as he pleased, from which assertion however I should infer that he was no great adept, as most Chefs matches are decided in an hour, and perhaps never exceed two, unless the players take a nap between the moves. Such assertions however have deterred many from attempting to

[m] Caxton herein attributes the invention of Chefs to Philometer *the Philosopher* for the instruction of a wicked King.

[n] Fenn's Letters, vol. II. p. 331. This letter is from Mrs. Paston to her husband.

learn the game. It is alluded to likewise as being an amusement in the family of the ninth Earl of Northumberland, by a curious manuscript, with the perusal of which you have lately indulged me.

We find the following presumptive proof that Queen Elizabeth was a player at Chefs. There had been a tilting-match before her Majesty, in which Sir Charles Blount (afterwards Lord Montjoy) distinguished himself so greatly, that the Queen sent him the next morning a Chefs-queen of gold, which was at the same time highly enamelled. It can scarcely be conceived that the Queen should have had such a Chefs-piece in her cabinet, unless she sometime played at that game [o].

James the First is supposed to have been a player at Chefs; but in his *Εικων Βασιλικη* advises his son against it, "because it is *over-wise*;" which, like most parental instruction, seems to have been little attended to, from the magnificent bag and elegant set of Chessmen, which I had the honour of lately exhibiting to the Society of Antiquaries, and which belonged to Charles the First [p]; they are now in the possession of Lord Barrington.

In the present century, Stamma who was a native of Aleppo, and resided some time in England as Translator of Oriental dispatches to our court, published some select games at Chefs, together with a few instructions [q], and after him Hoyle taught how to open the game, at a crown per lesson.

[o] See a publication entituled, *The Phoenix*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1707. The paper is from Sir Robert Naunton, who was Secretary to James I.

[p] In this reign *Saule* published instructions for playing at Chefs, which he dedicates to the Countess of Bedford, who therefore was probably a proficient at this game.

[q] The first edition was printed at Paris.

Having thus brought down to the present times such anecdotes as I have happened to stumble upon with regard to Chefs-playing in England, I shall now pass over to France, where there seem to be still earlier, but faint traces of the game having been known at least, but how generally is not perhaps so clear.

The historian Carte [r] gives us the following account of a Chefs-match between Henry the First, before his accession to the throne of England, and Lewis le Gros son to Philip of France. This took place at Philip's court, and in the year 1087. Lewis lost several games to Henry, as also a good deal of money; which irritated him so much, that he threw the Chessmen at Henry's head. This was returned by Henry's striking Lewis with the board, in such a manner that he was laid bleeding on the floor, and Henry would have killed his antagonist, if his elder brother Robert had not interposed. This is undoubtedly a very early instance of Chefs being known in France; but it is much to be wished that Carte had stated the term used in the Norman Chronicle to which he refers, and which he hath translated *Chefs*, as *drafts* is very ancient, bears a considerable affinity to Chefs, and equally requires a chequered board.

The next proof of an early knowledge of this game in France is said to be in John of Salisbury's book *de Nugis Curialium*, where however I have not been able to find it. When king John of France was made prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, he is reported to have said to his captor, "Do not you know, that at Chefs a king is never taken?" which undoubtedly must refer to Chefs as it is played at present.

In the reign of Charles the Fifth of France, Froisart mentions, that the King played at this game with the duke of Bur-

[r] Vol. I. p. 445.

gundy,



gundy, whilst they were for some time together at Toulouse. Chefs moreover is alluded to in the *Romant de la Rose*, and many of the French families bear a Chefs-rook in their arms. It was certainly much played in the same kingdom during the sixteenth century; as Pasquier [s] furnishes the following account of an inhabitant of Lyons, who would give up all his capital pieces, and beat an able adversary, provided he was permitted to have two moves for each of his *pawns* [t]. He would also engage to give *mate* with a particular pawn, or oblige his adversary to *mate* himself, with a piece that he should pitch upon.

In the seventeenth century the treatise intituled *The Calabrian* was translated from the Italian into French, and might have contributed to a few players having resumed this game, which (as with us) was now supplanted by the more general amusement of cards. In the present times Philidor (born at Dreux) is clearly the most distinguished champion, in so much that considerable subscriptions have been made to bring him over to England, from curiosity chiefly to see his great superiority. It is well known that he can play two games against able adversaries, and generally beat them, without seeing either of the boards. This is certainly a most amazing effort; but Villani (in his *Chronicle of Florence*) gives us a similar instance in the fourteenth century, as does another Italian writer of a Saracen who flourished about the same time [u]. Great chefs players indeed must necessarily carry in their head several moves which

[s] Pasquier's *Recherches de la France*, L. iv. ch. 31.

[t] This term of pawn is probably taken from the Spanish word *Peon*, which signifies a *foot soldier*.

[u] His name was Buzzeca.

are probably to ensue, both on their own part and that of their adversary; and he who like Philidor can do this throughout the whole game, even with a single antagonist, must commonly be the victor. To this account relative to Chefs-playing in France, it must be added, that Mons. Freret [x] informs us that there are several MSS on this subject in the French King's library.

As for Germany, I have not yet been able to pick up any particulars with regard to Chefs in that very extensive empire, except that a Selenus Duke of Brunswick wrote a treatise on that subject, and named one of his towns from it [y].

In Muscovy it is said to be in great vogue amongst the shopkeepers [z]; and it is highly probable that they received it, together with their profession of faith, from the Eastern empire, whilst the Greek Sovereigns resided in Constantinople.

Chefs moreover is supposed to be alluded to in some verses which are inserted in the ancient Northern Poem of *Hervarar Saga*; but the passage alluded to may relate to other games which are played upon a checquered board. Hyde indeed informs us that it is not unknown even in Iceland, and it certainly would be a very convenient game for filling up their very long nights during the winter [a].

Having

[x] Vol. V. of Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions.

[y] The name of the town is *Rockstet*, which had for its arms a *Chefs-rook*, and it was obliged to give to every new Bishop a Silver-Chefs-Board with silver men, one set of which was gilt. The *Chefs-rook* hath not the least affinity to the bird we so call. Its figure in Blasonry may be seen in Heraldical Treatises.

[z] Cox's Travels — See also Olearius.

[a] I am informed by Mr. Professor Thorckelin, who is by birth an Icclander, that Chefs (called *Slák*) continues to be an amusement in that island, and by abler players than

Having dwelt so much upon the countries from whence Chefs hath been originally introduced, or where the game hath been in considerable vogue, I shall conclude this rather long dissertation by some observations upon the names of the pieces, in many different languages, of which Hyde hath given a copious account.

If I am right in my conjecture, that the game was originally Chinese, from whence it was transferred to Thibet, Bengal, Indostan, and Persia, it is highly probable that the pieces did not differ materially in these several countries, either in name or figure. When however the Turks had learned it from the more Eastern inhabitants of Asia, they of course made the pieces formless, as they understand the second commandment in its most rigid and literal sense. The Greeks and Crusaders on the contrary having become adepts at the game from their long continuance in Palestine, conceived themselves at liberty to give what form and name they pleased to the pieces, which consequently differ often in the several parts of Europe where Chefs hath been introduced. It was natural therefore that their principal piece should be a *King*, both in form and name, and this seems to have obtained also in the more Eastern parts of Asia [*b*].— In most of these governments however the Kings are rather indolent monarchs, and consequently this piece scarcely moves at all, but is merely to be defended from attacks [*c*]. The Em-  
peror

than are to be found in Copenhagen.—He also informs me that allusions to this game are to be found in a very copious collection of Icelandic MSS. several of which will be published by the munificence of the King of Denmark.—The character of these MSS. is the Anglo-Saxon.

[*b*] Where this piece is termed *Schach*, or Emperor.

[*c*] It is admitted, however, that sometimes near the conclusion of the game,

peror himself being thus indolent, necessarily requires a Minister or General who can protect his master by vigorous and extensive motions, against distant insults, in the most remote parts of the board. The peice therefore of the greatest powers was by the Persians stiled Pherz, or *General* [d]. Chefs hath universally been considered as an engagement between two armies, and if the piece of the greatest importance is termed the *General*, this allusion is properly carried on. When the game however was introduced into Europe, the Christians did not trouble themselves about the Asiatic names for the peices, and styled the *Pherz* (or *General*) *Queen* [e], probably because she is placed next to the King, as the *General* was amongst the Asiatics; but this does not keep up so properly the idea of a military conflict, as when the *Pherz* (or *General*) is placed in the same situation. Another impropriety arises from the *Pawn's* becoming a *Queen*, when he hath reached the last square of the adversary's camp; as it is a suitable reward to the *Pawn* (or foot soldier) to make him a *General*, if he penetrates so far through the enemy's troops, but certainly no prowess on his part can entitle him to be transformed into a *Queen*.

his Majesty is obliged to be rather more active, but even then from his great dignity, he can only move a single step. The instance of the King's moving *two* steps (when he *castles*) can take place only once during the game.

[d] Sometimes Vizir or Minister.

[e] Hyde indeed mentions a *set* of Chefs-men, preserved at St. Denys, which belonged to Charlemagne, and four of which were Kings and *Queens*. That these pieces cannot be so ancient seems to be sufficiently evident, both from the set being preserved entire for near ten centuries, and from the principal pieces having Arabic characters on their back with the name of the maker. If Charlemagne was a player at Chefs, he would have probably employed an artist of his own dominions.

The

The next piece in power to the Pherz, or Queen, is that which we call sometimes the *Rook*, but more commonly *The Castle*. I conceive this term to be derived from the *Italians*, who I have endeavoured to prove were the first Europeans that played at Chefs; as *rocca* in that language not only signifies a *Rock* but a *Fortress*, which in those times was generally placed on such an eminence [f]:

“ Sicura quasi *rocca* in alto monte.”

Dante in Purg.

Hence our term at Chefs, “The King *castles*,” or puts himself in a state of security, by exchanging, in some measure, places with the *castle*, which then becomes more exposed to the enemy.

The name of the only remaining peice that seems to want some explanation is that which we call the *Bishop*; and which the French term the *Fou* or *Fool*. The reason of this last appellation seems to be, that as this peice stands on the sides of the King and Queen, some wag of the times, from this, styled it *The Fool*, because anciently royal personages were commonly thus attended, from want of other means of amusing themselves [g].

As for the term of *Bishop*, it is not so easily accounted for, as our Kings or Queens have never had any such constant attendants. When we first introduced this appellation is not perhaps to be settled with any certainty, though we know that in Caxton’s time this peice was stiled the *Elphyn*. It should seem

[f] The term of being *mated* seems also to be derived from the Italian *Ammazzato* or *killed*.

[g] The King’s *Fool* was properly the King’s *Butt*, who, being laughed at and ridiculed by his Majesty, was permitted to cut his jokes on the courtiers.

therefore that the change of name took place after the Reformation. If the form indeed of the Chefs-pieces which belonged to Charles I. and which I had the honour of exhibiting to the Society, is recollected, the top of this piece somewhat resembles a bishop's mitre [b].

If you happen, Sir, to think that what I have stated in this long letter may deserve any attention in Somerset-Place, I will beg you to transmit it to the Secretary; and if you do not peruse it with too friendly an eye, the opinion of so great a player at this most capital game cannot but carry with it the proper weight. You have indeed another title to the address of this Dissertation, as you furnished me with several scarce Italian treatises, which I could not otherwise have procured, and which have thrown much light upon the investigation.

I am, S I R,

With great regard,

Your most faithful,

Humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

[b] The Pawns in Caxton's time were of different figures, and not all uniform as at present. The Pawn before the Queen (for example) represents the Queen's *Spicer* or Apothecary. See Caxton's Book on Chefs.

IV. *A Letter from the Rev. John Bowle, F. A. S. on the Canonization of St. Osmund, with some Observations concerning the Episcopus Puerorum, addressed to the Bishop of Salisbury.*

Read June 28, 1787.

MY LORD,

I HAVE for some time past formed to myself an opinion that among the several prelates in the see of Salisbury, no one from the foundation of the church was more active and vigilant than your noble predecessor *Richard Beauchamp*, who was translated thither in August 1450. An early undertaking of his was the canonization of *St. Osmund*. It appears that two canons of the church, Nicholas Upton, and Simon Houchins, were sent to Pope Nicholas V. to Rome, where they arrived the 27th of June, 1450. Upon this business Upton returned the following year, being recalled by the Dean and Chapter in May, and the whole devolved upon Houchins. A work of this kind was not to be finished hastily: length of time and much money were essentially necessary. The latter appears from Houchins's Letters, which were collected into a volume, so damaged by damp, that Sir Edward Bysshe could with difficulty make out the two paragraphs he has published from them in  
the

the preface to his edition of "Upton de re militari [a]." The former, from a true state of the matter. It took up near three years in the papacy of the abovementioned pontiff, who died March 14, 1455, and was not finally adjusted till his successor Calixtus III. Sept 5, 1456, promulged his decree for that purpose. The canonization was afterwards on the 1st day of the following year, as appears from the "Portiforium ad usum Sarisburiensis ecclesiæ pars festivalis, Lond. 1556, 4to. fig. D. d. ii. Within this year as it appears in the office *in translatione sancti Osmundi*, July 15, the translation of his body was completed, principally at the expence of the bishop, "*Adjunctis sibi decano & fratribus paratissimis ejusdem loci canonicis, quorum impensis, devotione, ac industria elaboratum est.*" At this festival were present Archbishop Bouchier, *primas totius provincie, præsules ac principes regni*, with an astonishing number of the lower people. A new saint probably attracted much attention. Robert lord Hungerford by his testament bearing date the 22d of April, 1459, 37 H. VI. [b], bequeathed his body to be buried before the altar of St. Osmund, in the cathedral church of Salisbury, and dying May 18, 1460, was buried there.

I have mentioned the name of the above archbishop, as it adds strength to another conjecture, that the present parish church of St. Thomas was erected in these times; the arms of *Bouchier* and the see of Canterbury being still entire on a beam in the North aisle just over the door. The Catenarian arches

[a] "And thus blessed be God we be a werke, wherfor now it is nede that money be hadde in hast, by God hit hath cost many or this.

"Wherfor our matter hath be almost forget, and we have bite thayer-gaping after your lettres without comfort of you, or of Tarentyne. By God I trowe that money had be in the bank our matter had be sped or this."

[b] Dugd. Bar. II. 206.



in the windows, and betwixt the pillars, seem to evince as much. That there was a former in the same spot, erected soon after the building of the cathedral, to which it served as a chapel of ease is certain. I have examined the probate of the will of Roger de Telyng, Pistor, xi Kalendas Augusti 1316, in which are these clauses :

“ Imprimis, lego summo altari ecclesie sancti Thome martiris Sar. vis. et fabrice ejusdem ecclesie iiii. Lego corpus meum sepeliendum in cemiterio ejusdem ecclesie.” Whether this was a slight or other temporary building, or whether the increase of the inhabitants made a larger necessary, certain it is from similar authority that at the close of this same century, Thomas de Boiton, bowyer, in his will left the sum of 20 marks due to him from a John Gilberd, “ nove fabrice australis ecclesie sancti Thome Sar.” This will is dated “ in festo Sci Jacobi Apostoli, Anno Dom. 1400,” If this church underwent a second dedication, as was customary, and was practised in the cathedral in 1258, the particulars are probably mentioned in bishop Beauchamp’s registers, where doubtless every thing respecting the business of the transaction must be met with. If this should be wanting, the account of the removal of Becket’s bones from this place of interment in the church of Canterbury, in order to their being placed in their shrine, which must have been the case here, will in some measure supply this defect and strengthen my idea. If, which is to be wished for, it is to be found, it will afford some information as to the sameness or change of customs in the church in the course of three centuries.

“ Than how his holy transacyon was fulfilled now shall ye here. The reverend fader in God Steven Archbyshop of Canterbury, Rychard Byshop of Salesbury, Walter the pryor of the

same place with the covent with spiritual songs and devout ympnes, whan it was nyght went to the sepulchre of this holy martyr, and all that nyght and day of his tranflacion they persevered in prayers and fastyng, and after midnyght 4 preestes elected and chosē thereto, approchyng to his body, toke the holy heed with grete devocyon and reverence, and unto them all offered it for to kyffe. Than the Archbyshop and all the others made grete honour to it and toke all the relickes of the precious body, and layd them in a cheste, and shette it fast with yron lockes, and set it in a place for to be kepte unto the daye that the tranflacyon sholdē be solemnyfed. The daye then of this holy tranflacyon beyngē comen there were present a grete innumerable multitude of people, as well of riche as of poore. There was Pandulph a legate of the holy fader the Pope, and 2 archbyshops of Fraunce of Reyns and Arensis, with many other byshops and abbottes, and also kyngē Henry the Thyrdē, with erles and barons, whiche kyngē took the cheste upon his sholdres, and with the other prelates and lordes brought it with grete joye and honour unto the place where it is now worshipped, and was layd in a fayre and moche riche shryne, at whose holy tranflacyon were shewed by the merytes of this holy saynte Thomas many miracles.”

This happened in 1221. Though this matter is perhaps nowhere to be found but in the *Golden Legend*; yet, the miracles excepted, it seems intitled in all other respects to be regarded as historically true. The body of St. Osmund was brought hither with two other bishops, Roger and Joceline, at the feast of Trinity in 1226. It is to be presumed then this translation can mean nothing more than the taking up the bones from the grave, and placing them in a shrine near the altar. The office says,

says, D. d. iiii. “Hodie apertis visceribus terra protulit confes-  
forem, hodie Osmundum tanquam mundo iterum exortum gau-  
demus; hodie capsam reliquiarum ejus devotis gressibus fre-  
quentamus.”

Singular instances of general custom are apt to produce sur-  
prise in the discovery. This seems to have been the case with  
Mr. Gregory in his account of the *Episcopus Puerorum*. This  
institution was neither peculiar to this church or kingdom. It  
appears from the Northumberland household book, that they  
had a *Barne Bishop* at Beverley, and another at York. William  
de Yorke, the next but one in succession to bishop Poore, was  
provost of the former place, and most likely introduced it into  
the church at Salisbury. Bishop Poore according to Leland  
was the founder of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, to which  
bishop Bridport dedicated the foundation of the college de Val-  
libus. From these instances the 13th century may be said to  
be the æra of the devotion paid to him.

In Germany in 1274, at the counsel at Saltzburg, the “*ludi  
noxii quos vulgaris eloquentia Episcopatus Puerorum appellat,*”  
were prohibited as having produced great enormities [c].

In Spain antiently in cathedral churches in memory of the  
election of St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra, a chorister being  
placed with solemnity in the midst of the choir upon a scaffold,  
there descended from the vaulting of the ceiling a cloud, which  
stopping midway opened. Two angels within it carried the mitre,  
and descended just so low as to place it on his head, ascending  
immediately in the same order in which they came down.  
This came to be an occasion of some irregularities; for till the  
day of the Innocents, he had a certain jurisdiction, and his pre-

[c] Du Fresne, voc. *Episcopus Puerorum*.

bendaries took secular offices, such as, alguafils, catchpoles, dog-whippers, and sweepers. "This, thank God," says the author. Covarruvias under the article *Obsipillis*, "has been totally done away." He is however contradicted in the great Dictionary, where it is asserted that it is still kept up, particularly at Corunna and other cities, and in some Universities and Colleges. The word is Latinised *Puer episcopali habitu ornatus*.

The whole is with the greatest deference and respect submitted to his Lordship, by his dutiful and obedient servant,

*Idmiston, April 22, 1786.*

J. BOWLE.

V. *Description of another Roman Pig of Lead found in Derbyshire, in a Letter from the Rev. Mr. Pegge to Robert Banks Hodgkinson, Esq.*

Read Nov. 8, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

Whittington, June 2, 1787.

**M**ATLOCK moor appears to be fruitful in producing ancient blocks of *Roman Lead*, since in April last a second [a] mass was there found, of which the description, as sent me by my good friend the rev. John Mason, curate of *Elton*, in Derbyshire, goes thus:

Length of the lettered side,	$17\frac{1}{2}$ inches
Breadth of the same,	3
Length of the opposite side,	$20\frac{1}{2}$
Breadth of this side,	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Thicknes,	$4\frac{3}{4}$
Weight 12 stone 5lb. or 173lb.	

The shape or figure of this mass corresponds very well with those that have been reported before, and the inscription occurs accordingly on the shorter and narrower side, which conse-

[a] The former is now in the possession of Mr. Adam Wolley. See vol. VII. p. 170.

quently

quently we may call the uppermost [b]. It is much the heaviest of the Derbyshire pigs hitherto discovered [c], and consists, Mr. Mason says, of about 30 layers, as if smelted at so many different times [d].

The inscription is,

TI. CL. TR. IVT. BR. EX. ARG.

and it is with the utmost diffidence that I venture on the interpretation of it. Indeed, I can absolutely make nothing of it, unless you will suppose IVT. to be a blunder for POT. which both coins and inscriptions require after TR. and means *Tribunitia Potestas*. This, however, is a bold charge against the cutter of the die, since, distrusting the copyist in this place, I wished Mr. Mason to inspect the block again, which he did, but still reported the letters to be IVT. If, nevertheless, you will admit a blunder in this place, Sir, the inscription may be thus filled up, with some plausibility, though not with certainty:

Tiberius CLaudius TRibunitia POTestate BRitannicus.  
EX ARGento.

For the further explanation of which, I observe, first, that this is actually one of our oldest blocks, none prior to the reign of Claudius having yet been found.

2dly, That though a numeral, as I. II. III. &c. casually follows the abbreviations TR. POT. yet there are many instances among the coins of Claudius in Mezzabarba's edition of Occo,

[b] Of this inconvenient shape, see *Archæologia*, vol. V. p. 375.

[c] Mr. Nightingale's pig weighed 126lb. *Archæologia*, vol. V. p. 375. Mr. Walley's but 84lb. *Archæologia* vol. VII. p. 171. not the half of 173. *Hints* pig is 150lb. *Gentleman's Magazine* 1773, p. 61.

[d] *Archæologia*, vol. V. p. 377.

where, as here, no numerals appear. And for that reason it will be impossible to say in what year of this Emperor's reign our block was made; but probably, as we shall see immediately, not till after his 4th year, A. D. 44.

3dly, BR. in the inscription, I am of opinion, ought to be interpreted *Britannicus*, for though no other of Claudius' monuments give him this title, yet he certainly well merited it, both by his own and his legates' exploits here [e]. Claudius went to Britain, A. D. 43, and the next year triumphed greatly there, after which our workmen might not improperly stile him *Britannicus*, though he never assumed that title in form. It is principally for this reason that I esteem our block fabricated after A. D. 44; and whereas John Leland mentions one of this Emperor's plates of lead made A. D. 49 [f], the block in question was probably made about that year.

4thly, After we have cut the *Gordian Knot*, by a daring emendation of IVT, as above, the greatest difficulty seems to lie in the two final words, *EX ARG*. Now, Sir, on that side of the Roman pig of lead, found on the verge of Broughtonbrook, near Stockbridge, Hants, are the words EX ARGENT [g], of which, assuming and taking them to import the same as our EX ARG. I shall recite the explanation given in the Magazine of 1783. 'The words EX ARGENT [h] may be explained by  
' Mr. Pennant's observation [i], that the Romans found such  
' plenty of silver in the Spanish mines, that for some time they  
' never thought it worth their labour to extract it from lead [k].

[e] See the case of *Nero* in *Gent. Magazine* 1783, p. 936.

[f] *Gent. Magazine*, 1773, p. 62.

[g] *Ibidem*, 1783, p. 936.

[h] EX ARGENT, *ibid*, p. 936.

[i] *Wales*. vol. I. p. 58.

[k] *Strabo*, vol. III. p. 221.

‘ In late times they discovered an ore that contained silver, tin,  
 ‘ and lead, and those three metals were melted from it. It ap-  
 ‘ pears that the first product was the tin, the second the silver,  
 ‘ and what *Pliny* calls *galiena*, which was left behind in the  
 ‘ furnace, and seems to be the same with our *litharge*, and being  
 ‘ melted again became lead, or, as this writer calls it, *black*  
 ‘ *lead*, to distinguish it from white lead or tin [1].’ The diffi-  
 culty with me is this; we all know that silver, in some propor-  
 tion, may be extracted from lead; but according to our premises,  
 viz. the words of our inscription, must have been the predomi-  
 nant substance in the mineral, and lead extracted from it, and  
 yet we never heard of any such silver mines in Derbyshire.  
 This therefore must be left to further investigation; and I par-  
 ticularly recommend it to your consideration. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

P. S. If it be thought that *Britannicus* above is not well  
 founded, we may substitute *Britannia*, as denoting the country  
 whence the commodity came.

\* \* \* Since the above letter was written, Mr. Moleworth, a wor-  
 thy member of the Society, has purchased the very ancient block  
 of Roman lead here in question, as he informs me, and by his  
 great care and accuracy has discovered that the 7th letter is not  
 an I but an L. We are obliged to this gentleman for the acute-  
 ness of his inspection, and are happy that this curious relique of  
 antiquity has fallen into such good hands; but at the same time  
 I must confess, that this literal emendation does not contribute  
 in the least, in my idea, to explain this difficult inscription, but  
 that it still continues to be as obscure and unintelligible as ever.

March 15, 1788.

[1] Gent. Magazine, 1783, p. 937.



VI. *An Account of the ancient Lordship of Galloway, from the earliest period to the Year 1455, when it was annexed to the Crown of Scotland. By Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, Esq.*

Read Nov. 15, 1789.

**G**ALLOWAY in the early period of the Scottish monarchy consisted of that tract of country which now comprehends the shire and stewarty of Galloway, Nithsdale, Carrick, and the western part of Airshire, with part of Lanerickshire. This extensive tract, appears to have been totally independent, both of the Scottish and Pictish kingdoms, and was governed by Reguli, or Princes. Bede informs us that in the year 412, St. Ninian was sent to the South Picts, and to Whithorn in Galloway, and he calls *Candida Casa*, or Whithorn in Galloway, one of the four Northumbrian bishopricks. After the annihilation of the Pictish kingdom, the Monarchs of Scotland assumed a feudal superiority over the lords of Galloway, which for many ages was disputed by the Gallwegian Reguli, and at last temporarily obtained, only as the fate of war decreed it. But in the reign of David the First, when the Scottish kings had obtained a greater influence over the lords or princes of Galloway, we still find them a distinct people, governed by their

own laws. And in several of David's Charters he thus begins,  
 " David Dei gratia Rex Scottorum Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comi-  
 " tibus, Baronibus, et probis hominibus suis et omnibus fidelibus  
 " suis totius Regni sui, Francis, et Anglicis et Scottis et Galli-  
 " venibus Salutem."

And in the *Regiam Majestatem*, chap. xvii. of the statutes of Alex. II. " It was decerned be all the judges als well of Scotland  
 " as of Gallaway," &c. In the statutes of Robert Bruce, chap. xxxv. we have an account of the Galloway laws, and in the Haddington collection is a charter of Bruce to the Galloway men, confirming their ancient laws, &c.

I shall proceed to give some account of the history of this people, as far as I have been able to learn it; but in the early period it is very imperfect until the time of Fergus.

Boece mentions one Dowgal Regulus of Galloway who prevented Constantine king of Scotland from being murdered by his subjects, about or before A. D. 479.

About the year 685, in the reign of Eugene V. king of Scotland, Egfrid king of Bernicia laid siege to the castle of Donskene in Galloway.

Mordack king of Scotland is said to have refounded the monastery of Candida-Casa, or Whitehorn, in Galloway. He died in 734.

Ethfrid king of Scotland when old, resigned the management of public affairs to Murdock Lord of Galloway, Donald Thane of Argyle, Cullen Thane of Athole, and Conrith Thane of Murray. Under this administration, Donald Lord of the Isles laid waste Galloway, A. D. 761.

About the third year of the reign of Solvaith king of Scotland, A. D. 769, Gylleguham, the confederate of Donald Bane

(or the white) king of the Ebudæ, invaded Galloway; but was slain.

Macbeth king of Scotland slew Macgile Lord of Galloway.

Malcolm Can-more is said to have added to the revenue of Whithorn in Galloway.

In the reign of David the First, Sir David Dalrymple informs us, that at the battle of the Standard, which was fought August 22, 1138, “The Galivegians claimed the pre-eminence of beginning the attack, as being due by ancient custom, and they in consequence led the van under their chiefs Ulgric and Dovenald, who were both slain. This lost David the battle.”

Fergus Lord of Galloway flourished in the end of the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and he lived until near the end of that of Malcolm IV. who died in 1165. He seems to have been a most powerful man in the age he lived in; for Malcolm IV. and he differing, he declared war against that king but was taken prisoner by Gilchrist the third earl of Angus, the king's general, and being shaved was shut up a monk in the abbey of Holyroodhouse in 1142, and he made great additions to the monastery or priory of Whithorn, and to the abbey of Holyroodhouse, where he died about the year 1160. He founded the abbey of Soulseat or Sedes animorum, and St. Mary Isle. He left issue two sons, Uchtred and Gilbert, and he had a daughter called Africa, who married Olave the First, king of Man, and of the Isles, who died in the year 1144. Fergus had another daughter called Margaret, who was married to Alan (the son of Walter the son of Fleanch, who was dapifer to the king) and who died circa 1153. Fergus was succeeded by his son Uchtred who married Guild the sister of Alan, and the daughter of Waldeof Lord of Allerdale, who was son to Gospatrick earl of Dunbar. Gilbert attended his brother Uchtred

to the battle of Alnwick, where William the Lion was taken prisoner; and on their return home, they drove out of Galloway all the intendants and magistrates put over them by the Scottish king, they slew all the English and French who fell into their hands, took and destroyed all the castles and fortresses that the king of Scotland had built in their country, putting to the sword all they found in them. Uchtred founded and endowed the nunnery of Lincluden where he was buried. He granted the lands of Kirkgunin to the abbey of Holm Colteram in Cumberland. He was in the interest of Scotland; but his brother Gilbert who was attached to the English interest obtained their assistance; and made his brother prisoner, and put him cruelly to death. This happened during the captivity of king William the Lion. Uchtred left a son called Roland. Gilbert was now Lord of all Galloway, but he did not enjoy it long, for he died in 1185, leaving a son Duncan, afterwards earl of Carrick. This year, viz. 1185, Henry II. king of England led a great army to Carlisle, and with the concurrence of William the Lion and his aid, he settled the affairs of Galloway; for Roland the son of Uchtred upon his uncle Gilbert's death, declared himself Lord of all Galloway, and he vanquished and slew Gilpatrick who headed the faction of his cousin Duncan. But the kings of England and Scotland obliged Roland to give to Duncan that part of Galloway called Carrick. And he became first Earl of Carrick.



I have put down his armorial bearing.

Roland now got quiet possession of the remainder of Galloway. He married Eva daughter and at last, sole heiress

heirefs of Richard de Morville constable of Scotland, whereby he got a great estate, and the dignity of constable of Scotland transferred to his family, and he paid William the Lion 700 marks for his confirmation of this great accession of dignity and fortune.

Ralph de Diceto thus describes the Galloway men who served in the army of William the Lion, king of Scotland. “ They  
“ were fleet, naked, remarkably bold, wearing on their left  
“ sides small knives, formidable to any armed men, very expert  
“ in throwing and aiming their javelins at great distances,  
“ setting up for a signal when they go to battle a long lance.”  
Roland, Lord of Galloway founded the abbey of Glen-luce in Galloway in the year 1190. By his wife Eva, he left issue Alan his heir. 2dly. Thomas de Galloway, who married Isabel, second daughter of Henry earl of Athol, who by the death of Alanus de Londoniis, who was married to her eldest sister, became heirefs to her father’s great estates. And her husband Thomas of Galloway was “ cinctus cum gladio comitatus Atholiæ,” and became the fifth earl of Athol from Malcolm son of Donald VII. king of Scotland who was created by David the First. He died in the year 1234, and was succeeded by his son Patrick the sixth earl of Athole.

Roland also left a daughter Ada, who married Sir Walter Byffet.

Nisbet in his Heraldry mentions his having seen a charter of Roland Lord of Galloway granted to Alan Sinclair. To this charter his seal was appended, which he describes thus: “ Ro-  
“ land is on the seal represented on horseback, in armour with  
“ a sword in his right hand, and on his left arm a shield  
“ charged with a cheveron; which figure was also on the ca-  
“ parifons of his horse before and behind.” Roland was suc-  
ceeded

ceeded by his eldest son, Alan, who was the fifth Lord of Galloway from Fergus, and the second constable of Scotland of his family.

He married the daughter of Hugh de Lacy, an Irish lady, by whom he had no issue. He founded the abbey of Tungleland in Galloway. He married for his second wife Margaret eldest daughter of David Earl of Huntington, brother to king Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. By her he had three daughters, Helen who was married to Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester. She had a son Roger de Quincy, who died in the year 1264. A charter of his to Secher de Seton is extant, to which is appended his seal in red wax with two sides, one having a man in armour on horseback brandishing a sword, and on his left arm a triangular shield charged with seven mascles, three, three, and one, and he had the same shield on the caparisons of his horse, and below the horse's belly a winged dragon, with these words round the seal :

*Sigil: Rogeri de Quincy comitis wincestriae.*

On the other side of the seal was a man standing in a coat of mail with a sword in his right hand, and supporting a long triangular shield by his left, with the aforesaid figures, being in a posture as if he were combating with a lion erect, having his two fore paws on the shield, and below his hinder feet a rose; the man's head and face being covered with a close helmet, ensigned with a circular diadem but not adorned with flowers, upon which stood a dragon with wings, and tail noued for crest; and the legend round was,

*Sigillum Rogeri de Quincy Constabularii Scotiae.*

This

This feal was in the possession of the Winton family. Roger de Quincy who died in 1264 left three daughters, but no son; so the office of constable of Scotland returned to Christian the second daughter of Lord Alan, who married William de Foribus, Earl of Albemarle; but she died without issue. The third daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway was Dervigild, who married John Baliol of Barnard Castle. In Magna Charta, Alan de Galloway is mentioned as one of the great English Barons, and is designed constable of Scotland.

Archdall in his *Monasticon Hibernicum* mentions that Alan of Galloway, Duncan of Carric, and the Biffets from Scotland, had lands given them near Carrick Fergus, by Henry III. King of England. Alan and his father Roland were benefactors to the abbey of Holmcolteram in Cumberland, of the lands of Lochartur in Galloway. He seems to have been the most powerful man in Scotland of his day, and dying without male issue in 1234, he was interred at the abbey of Dundrennan, where his tomb was lately to be seen. He lay in a nich in the cross isle, east from the north door. His effigy was well executed in stone, the figure was cross legged and in armour, with a belt across the shoulder and another round the waist. It was in a recumbent posture under a canopy of stone, from whence it has been thrown down, and the trunk shamefully mutilated and defaced. His lady lays on the west side of the same door in a nich also.

Upon the death of Alan Lord of Galloway, Alexander II. king of Scotland ordained this great principality to be equally divided amongst his three daughters, whom I have mentioned, and who all survived their father. But Thomas Macduallen, the bastard son of the deceased Lord Alan, claimed the whole succession of his father. In this claim he was supported by the friends and tenants  
of

of the late Alan, by his father in law Olave, king of Man, as also by some Irish princes, and Sommerled Thane of Argyle. Alexander II. marched an army against Thomas Macduallen, whom he found at the head of ten thousand men. The royal army prevailing, Thomas Macduallen and Gildroth one of his allies escaped to Ireland. Thomas afterwards returned to Scotland, and threw himself on the king's mercy, who granted him his life.

Upon the death of Roger de Quincy Earl of Winchester, and son to the Lady Helen (as I before mentioned) which happened in the year 1264, and the lady Christian, who died without issue, Dervegild, the third daughter, now found herself sole heiress to her father, Lord Alan. I mentioned before, she was the wife of John Baliol, Lord of Barnard castle. She died in the year 1269, and left a son called John Baliol, who through her and her mother's right became King of Scotland. She left a daughter called Dervigild who was the grand mother of John Cummyng slain at Dumfries. The lady Dervigild founded and endowed the abbey of Hollywood and Dulce Cor (or Sweet Heart) in Galloway, and the Franciscan convent at Dumfries, and built the fine old stone bridge over the Nith there. Her son John Baliol had very great estates; for besides the great Lordship of Galloway he possessed Cuningham or the largs, Lanerk, Kadiow, Maldsley, and Dundee Castle. He had in France the Lordships of Baliol and Harcourt; and in England the lordship and honor of Bernard Castle.

I have put down his armorial bearing.



He



He was succeeded by Edward Baliol, who resided mostly in his lordship of Galloway, during his short and tumultuous reign, where he had the castles of Kenmore, Bootle, Kirkgunion, and Kirkandres.

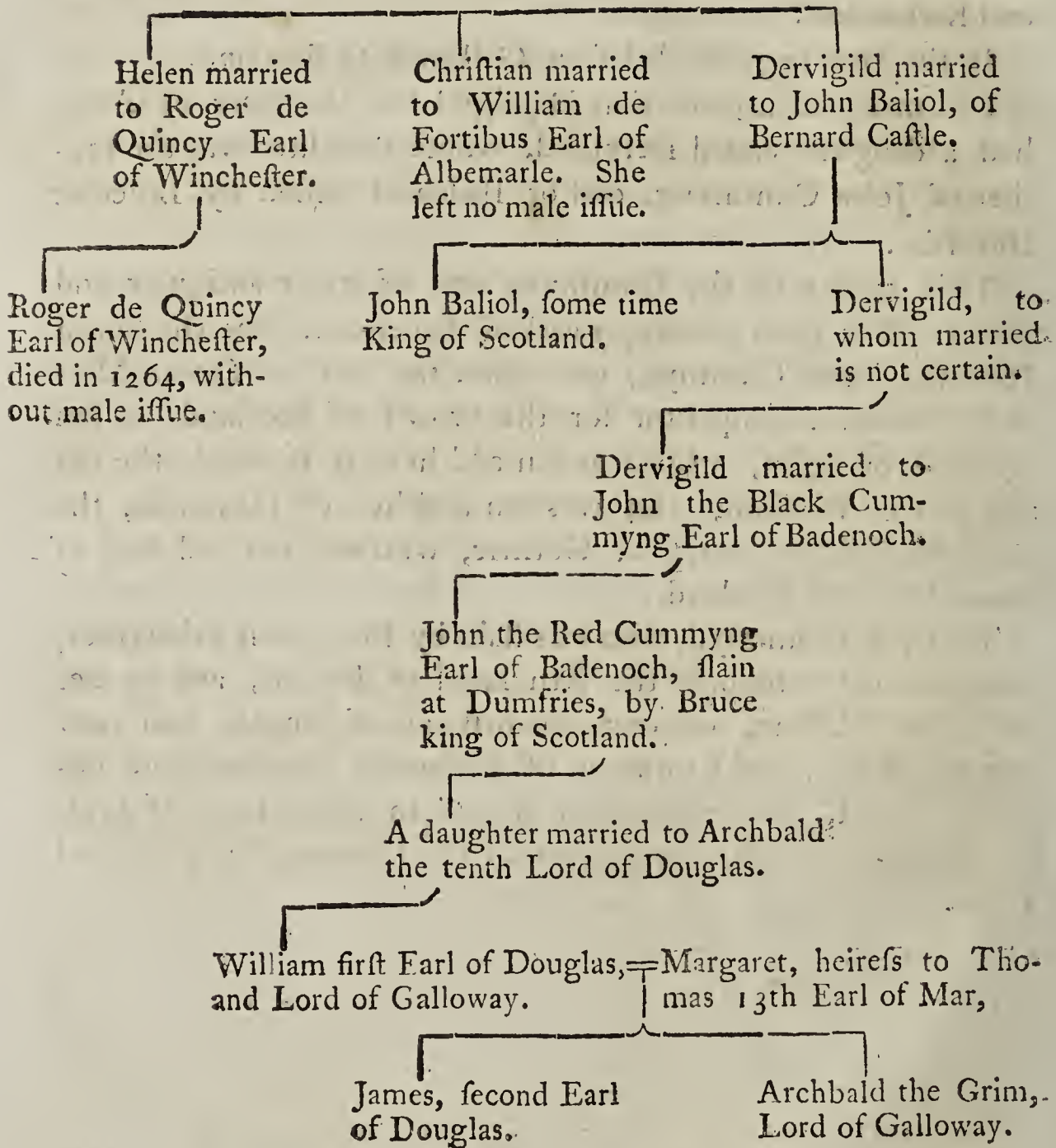
In the year 1336 he fled from Galloway to England.

I formerly mentioned that Dervigild the daughter of Alan, had a daughter called Dervigild, whose daughter was the mother of John Cummyng, earl of Badenoch killed by Bruce at Dumfries.

This family of the Cummys was of great antiquity and power. For John Cummyng earl of Badenoch, was the son of John the black Cummyng, who upon the death of Queen Margaret became a competitor for the crown of Scotland, as son and heir of John, who was son and heir of Richard, the son and heir of William, who was son and heir of Hexetilda, the daughter and sole heiress of Gothric, who was son and heir of Donald king of Scotland.

This John Cummyng, who was slain by Bruce, left a daughter, who married Archbald the Xth Lord of Douglas, and by her had a son William, who was the first earl of Douglas, and now that the Baliol, and Cummyng of Badenoch families were become extinct, he became heir of line to Alan Lord of Galloway his predecessor, as appears by the following Genealogical Table.

Alan Lord of Galloway.



William

William first Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway married his first wife before 1349, the Lady Margaret, daughter and at last sole heiress of Thomas the XIIIth earl of Mar. By her he had James, second Earl of Douglas, and Archibald who was created Lord of Galloway by David II. in the 40th year of his reign. This Lord Archibald surnamed the Grim, re-founded the nunnery of Lincluden; for the nuns having become very dissolute, he turned them out and converted the nunnery into a provostry. His brother earl James dying, he succeeded him in the earldom of Douglas in the year 1388. He married Jean daughter and heiress to Thomas Murray of Bothwell, by whom he had a son Archibald the fourth earl of Douglas.

Lord Archbald the Grim lies interred in the vestry or sacristy at Lincluden, above the door of which are his arms and those of his lady carved in stone upon separate shields, and three stars interlaced with three cups (as panitarius Scotiæ) are betwixt the shields.

Archbald IV. earl of Douglas and third Lord of Galloway, Lord Bothwell, Anandale, second Duke of Turenne, Count de Longueville, and Marechal of France, succeeded his father, Archbald the Grim, anno 1424. He married the Lady Margaret, eldest daughter to King Robert III. by the Lady Annabella Drummond. This Lady has a superb tomb at Lincluden with the following inscription :

*Hic jacet Margareta, Scotiæ Regis filia, quonda comitissa de Douglas et Domina Galovidie et validanicæ.*

This earl is interred in the church of Douglas, in a most magnificent tomb. He left a daughter the Lady Margaret, who was called the Fair Maid of Galloway. She got the estates of Galloway, Wigton, and Balvennie, &c. and was first married

to her cousin William, the fifth earl of Douglas, and secondly to James the sixth earl of Douglas. She lies with her mother at Lincluden, and was succeeded in the Lordship of Galloway by James, the seventh earl of Douglas, surnamed the Fat. He died in the year 1443, and was interred at Douglas, where he had a magnificent monument. He was succeeded by his son, William the eighth earl of Douglas, and fifth duke of Turenne, &c. He was succeeded by his brother James, the ninth earl of Douglas and sixth duke of Turenne. In this earl the male line of the first and second sons of William, first earl of Douglas ended. In the year 1455 the Scottish parliament annexed for ever to the crown the Lordship of Galloway, with all its freedoms, &c. From that period this ancient Lordship has continued annexed to the crown, and its ancient laws and customs, &c. have been annihilated, to put it upon the same footing as the other parts of Scotland.

VII. *Translation of a Dissertation on Satyrical Medals, addressed to the Society, by Pere Francois Phillippe Gourdin, Benedictine of the Order of St. Maur at Rouen, Librarian of the Abbey of St. Ouen in Normandy, Member of the Academies of Rouen, Caen, and Villefranche, and of the Literary Society of Boulogne and the Museum at Bourdeaux, and Honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

Read Dec. 6, 1787.

**A**BOUT a century has now elapsed since an important question arose among the most celebrated Antiquaries, concerning a Gold Medal of the Emperor Gallienus in the King of France's Cabinet. It exhibits on one side the head of the Emperor crowned with ears of corn, with the inscription GALLIENAE AVGVSTAE. The name of a woman over the head of an Emperor conveyed to many persons the idea of a medallic satire. Frederic Spanheim [a], Vaillant [b], Baudelot [c], Banduri [a], and

[a] Though, after Bernard author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, and after the *Journal des Sçavans* 1698, we place Frederic Spanheim at the head of this list (whom Bernard, *Nouvelle Republique des Lettres*; Jan. 1700, art. 2. confounded with his father Ezekiel, author of the two volumes (*De Ufu. & Præstantia Numismatum Antiquorum*), Spanheim is by no means positive:

and Grainville [e], conceived themselves authorised in adopting this opinion, inasmuch as the Emperor Julian in his *Cæsars* represents Gallienus coming to the Banquet of the Gods in the

fitive in this opinion. He only considers the medal as a singular one. See his Translation of the *Cæsars* of Julian, note 294.

[b] In ludicrum Gallieno ab uno ex ipsis qui imperatoris titulum contra eum arripuerit percussum videtur, illum *Augustam* appellans: ut omnibus denotaret pro foemina eum haberi debere, qui res tam negligenter in bellis undique Romanum imperium prementibus ageret: de quo ait Pollio, *ut ejus ne mentio quidem apud exercitum fieret*; ita pro laurea spicas gerit tanquam abdomini potius quam bello vacaret. Bigas agit, quod victoriam in circo potius quam de hostibus quaereret. Pro epigraphe, *ubique pax*, cum nulla provincia esset quae bello non impeteretur. (Numism. praest. imperat. T. II. p. 381.)

[c] Letter to the Abbé de Vallemont on the explanation which he has given of the gold medal in the King's cabinet, 1698. Answer to M G[alland], wherein are examined several questions of Antiquity, among others the above translation.

M. Baudelot expresses his surprise that the Abbé de Vallemont should have followed such an historian as Trebellius Pollio, and have taken the liberty of changing the punctuation of the passage, which he cites in support of his opinion, and thereby makes the historian say the contrary of what he really has said, Though Galland agreed with Baudelot, as to this translation and alteration, he was not of the same opinion as to the legend *VBIQUE PAX*, or the manner of reading the inscription of the obverse. This is the subject of Baudelot's answer, who says, that this is not the only ironical medal to be met with, but that the Roman coinage afford more than one striking example of the kind.

[d] Nova et insolita epigraphe, novus ac insolitus typus hujus nummi, quem in ludibrium, atque ad aeternum Gallieni dedecus cum putant viri eruditi. *Gallienae Augustae* inscribitur, ut omnibus notum fieret pro foemina eum haberi debere . . . vel quod Zenobia in eum arma sumpisset, ejusque ducem Heraclianum vicisset . . . (Num. imper. Rom. T. I. pp. 154. et 155. not. 5.)

[e] Dissert. sur quelques med. satyriques de Gallien decouvertes depuis peu (Mem. de Treveux. Juin 1712), Voilà bien des medailles, dit il, qu'il est difficile d'envisager de près sans y appercevoir de la malice . . . d'autant plus que ces medailles sont la plupart très rares et même uniques, ce qui ne convient point aux medailles qu'on a frappées en l'honneur d'un Prince, qui sont presque toutes très communes.

habit and with the air of a woman [f]. The legend on the reverse VBIQVE PAX, at a time when war desolated all the provinces of the Empire, tended admirably to confirm the opinion of these learned men.

Father Hardouin [g], however, together with the Abbé de Vallemort [h], and Monf. Galland [i], were unwilling to perceive

[f] Ἐπὶ τῷ παρῆλθιν εἴσω Γαλλιῆνος, . . . . σολῆτε καὶ κινήσει χρώμενος μαλακώτερα, ὡσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες. Ὁ Σειληνὸς πρὸς τὸν Γαλλιῆνον ἔφη,

Ὅς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντῃ τρυφᾷ ἤυτε κέρμη.

Julian, says Spanheim on the *placé*, introduces him here as an effeminate man, such as he really was. What is said of his robe, which literally approached in softness that of a woman, refers to what Trebellius Pollio says of it, that he wore a man's purple robe, with gold and sleeves, which were not seen on men's robes before the time of Gallienus, who first made use of such—meaning in short, that Gallienus was attired and set off more like a courtesan than an emperor. (note 203. p. 22.)

[g] *Gallienæ augustæ scriptum est pro Gallienæ Augustæ, in vocandi casu: pro usu scilicet temporum illorum quibus littera Æ vel E subindè permutabatur in scribendo ob soni similitudinem . . . jam corona graminea, quâ caput Gallieni cingitur, magnarum victoriarum index fuit, et inter cætera coronarum bellicarum principem locum tenuit, ut ait Plinius lib. xxii. sect. 4. (Chronol. Specimen Numm. Sæc. Constantini, p. 447.)*

This explanation must appear very simple to such a singular genius as Hardouin. He therefore offers another more refined one: GALLIENO Augusto Eduæ AVGVSTA Urbis Servatori Triumphalem Arcum Erexit: In like manner he translates the legend on the reverse: Victoria Bisuntina, QVietem Eduæ Peperit, Augusti X. decennialibus (ad Plinii Hist. Nat. T. I. p. 370.)

[h] Nouvelle explication d'une médaille d'or du cabinet du roi, 1698; 12°. The Abbé in the first letter pretends from a passage in Trebellius Pollio that the person here treated of is one *Gallienena* cousin german to the Emperor, who killed the tyrant Cornelius Celsus seven days after his election, and that Gallienus to shew his gratitude engraved the head of this Princess with the title of AVGVSTA on one of his medals. In the second letter the author defends his opinion against Baudelot

ceive any satire whatsoever in this medal: they endeavoured to give several explanations of it, but these were perhaps more ingenious than satisfactory [k].

These antiquaries, and particularly Father Hardouin laid it down as a principle that the Romans were too grave a people to tolerate upon their medals Jokes, which were unworthy of the Majesty of the Empire [l].

Upon this principle Klotzius, contends that no satyrical medal whatsoever is to be found among the antients, and that

Baudelot and Galland. Notwithstanding the praises given to their letters in the Journals, they contain more learning than reasoning.

[i] "Lettre touchant la Nouv. Explic. &c. Caen, 1698," Galland like Baudelot maintains that Vaillant has misunderstood or mistranslated the passage of Pollio, and that this Galliena had not *killed* but *electa* Celsus, who was killed seven days afterwards. He thinks the Æ is put here for E by the fault of the Monetarius, and that all medals of the Roman Emperors have a *serious* intention.

[k] The weakness of these three interpretations discovers itself. It is not enough to say with P. Hardouin that at that time Æ was put for E from simplicity of sound. This can only be an error in speech and not in writing, especially as the diphthong is composed of two single letters, as it is written on medals and inscriptions. Galland's reason has no more weight. Consult on this subject, "Hælich de nummis monetar. veter. culpavitiosis." As to the Abbé Vallemont, it is sufficient to overset his system to read his second letter, in which he pretends to defend it.

[l] Hæc obiter de Gallieni nummo . . . . cum in nummis antiquis, saltè Latinis, nihil planè sit ludicrum, aut scurrile, Romanâ gravitate ac majestate indignum. Nec si nummos quidè tales audimus quisquàm ferè ex Augustis, aut magis in bello strenuus, aut magis acceptus P. R. Galliisque fuerit quàm Gallienus. (ut suprâ, p. 448). This is a complete panegyric of Gallienus. It is confirmed in a letter of P. Chamillard on the medals of Gallienus, wherein is shewn that all the historians agree with the medals. This letter truly interesting by the plan of a Roman History after medals and historians, which it contains, may be found in the Mem. de Trevoux, Novembre 1719, p. 95.

the



the very first of the kind is not of a more antient date than the year 1512, when Louis XII. caused one to be struck in order to revenge himself upon Pope Julius II. who had put the kingdom of France under interdict [*m*].

Let us examine this principle, the truth of which is founded upon incontrovertible facts, but let us at the same time reduce it to its just value, and we shall very soon perceive that the conclusion drawn from it is too general, too extensive, and consequently false and ill-founded.

The Greeks were undoubtedly very cautious to eternize by means of medals the disgrace of their vanquished enemies. On the contrary they appear, on the authority of Diodorus Siculus [*n*], to have erected only trophies of wood as the monuments of their victories, from the apprehension that they would otherwise have been too durable.

The Romans, whose policy, at least in the more early ages, consisted in extending by conquest the limits of the republic, and in augmenting the number of its citizens, seem to have behaved to the conquered with as much moderation as the Greeks [*o*]. It is remarkable that notwithstanding the hatred and contempt which they entertained towards the Jews, nothing

[*m*] Primum satyricum nummum Christianissimi Regis manu in Vicarium dei cufum . . . non antiquiorem inveni. Hist. nummor. contumelios. et satiricor. p. 138, Altemburgi, 1765, 12mo.

[*n*] Lib. xiii. c. 9. Plutarch informs us that those who first erected trophies of brass or stone were not highly esteemed. Quæst. Rom. n. 37.

[*o*] Hæc est in gremium victos quæ sola recepit,  
Matris, non dominæ ritu, civesque vocavit  
Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.

Claudian. de laud. Stilic. iii. 150.

Nunquam Populus Romanus hostibus domitis victoriam suam exprobravit. Florus Epitom. lib. iii. cap. 2.

injurious to this nation appears upon the medals which were struck in honour of Titus and Vespasian after the conquest of Jerufalem. It is true indeed that upon several medals of those Emperors there is represented a sow with its young ones, which many authors have imagined to have been with a view to insult the Jewish nation. Oiselius has expressly said so: “in opprobrium Judæorum post victoriam Judaicam Vespasiani et Titi imperatorum videtur hæc sus impressa, quasi Judæis exprorsans.” Father Joubert is of the same opinion. “The hog,” says he, “denotes Judea enslaved; for Vespasian and Hadrian, in order to subdue the spirit of the Jews, compelled them to exhibit upon the gate of Jerufalem the figure of this animal, which they held in the utmost detestation [p].” John Bimard, in his Remarks upon this work, refutes this opinion. “It would be a very difficult matter,” says he, “to cite a single medal upon which a hog is represented. There is but this one instance of a sow with its young ones, which has no connexion whatsoever with the conquest of Jerufalem by Vespasian or Hadrian.” Cassiodorus has cleared up every doubt upon this subject, where he thus expresses himself: “In fronte ejus portæ quâ Bethleem egreditur sus sculptus in marmore, significans Romanæ potestati subjacere Judæos.” This animal, long before the destruction of Jerufalem, was represented upon the Roman standards, as we learn from Festus [q]. “Porci effigies inter militaria signa quintum locum obtinebat, quia confecto bello, inter quos pax fieret, cæso porco fœdus

[p] The Jesuit Pedruzi says the same: “In this representation we observe a contempt shewn of the Jews, in reproach of whom Vespasian ordered the sow to be here expressed.” (Museo Farnes. T. II. tab. xx. n. p. 339.) and elsewhere speaking of Titus, he says, “The reverse shewing a sow with her pigs as in a similar one made by Vespasian in derision of the Jews.” (Ib. tab. xxi. n. 7. p. 354.)

[q] L. xiv.

“firmari solebat.” So that in this point of view, the principle laid down by Father Hardouin, and by those who have adopted his opinion, is absolutely true: and it may be said that the antients have in this instance left the moderns a great and noble example of moderation, which the latter have not at all times sufficiently followed.

This same principle considered in another sense will be found equally true. Neither the Roman senate, the municipal towns, or the colonies, ever assumed to themselves the privilege of exhibiting any mark whatsoever of raillery, or malicious allusion to the Emperors or Empreſſes, upon their coins, or even upon their particular medals [r], and for this reason, that all bodies of men owe a degree of respect to themselves, while an individual seems in this instance to possess more liberty; he may do that with impunity which a body of men could not attempt without considerable hazard.

It would not therefore have been advisable for the senate, the municipal towns, or the colonies, to effect what princes and monarchs have sometimes done; for the latter are on this occasion to be considered as individuals, powerful indeed, and whose will, however ridiculous, finds authority in the flattery of courtiers: it is not surprizing therefore that the effects of their hatred, revenge, pride, or other passions, are transmitted from age to age by monuments which are silently censured in their own times by men of understanding, and loudly proscribed by equitable posterity.

[r] The question has been frequently agitated; whether medals were current money. See in the *Mémoires de Trevoux*, June 1707, p. 1085, a Dissertation on the subject, wherein the author gives reasons on both sides. The 4th proof on the negative side is drawn from injurious medals, among which this of Gallienus is cited, and the 5th proof on the affirmative side is taken also from the want of seriousness in certain medals.

Of this kind is the medal of Louis XII. against Pope Julius II. with the inscription, *PERDAM BABILONIS NOMEN*, of which an account may be seen in Thuanus [s].

This principle being laid down, we do not think that the medals upon which the letters *S. C.* are found, or any other public mark of authority whatsoever, were ever intended as satirical medals, although they may have the appearance of being so.

Nor do we believe that certain reverses, or inscriptions, upon authorized medals, which some, through a servile complaisance, as Father de Grainville [t], says, considered as so many eulogies, were really looked upon, at the time when they were struck, by wise and considerate men, as monuments of insulting raillery.

We do not even allow, in conformity to the opinion of the learned Spanheim, that these reverses and inscriptions are to be considered as oblique admonitions and indirect lessons to princes,

[s] Cum Julio II. non eandem amicitiam coluit, quippè eum infestissimum hostem semper expertus, quem gratissimum amicum habere debuit. Quæ odia eo evaserunt ut temere et injuriosè Rex à Pontifice proscriptus primò Lugduni synodo præfulum regni convocata ipsum in jus vocaverit . . . . quin et eo ipso provectus est, ut *spretis multis* multorum, quibus alloqui plurimum tribuebat, *suasionibus*, moribundi senis inanes diras contrariâ obnunciatione generosè revicerit, *cuss etiam aureo nummo*, qui titulos regis Franciæ regniq; Neapolitani cùm effigie suâ ex unâ parte, et insignia Franciæ ex alterâ referebat, cùm hoc elogio: *PERDAM BABILONIS NOMEN*. Quales adhuc hodie multi reperiuntur. (Thuan. Histor. lib. i. p. 11. edit. 1626. Genev.)

Varillas pretends that this inscription is to be understood with reference to the manners of the clergy. If so, it would be conceived in a very extraordinary manner. P. Hardouin refers it to the crusade against the Sultan of Egypt, whose capital was Babylon; but this opinion is contradicted by historians. These different opinions have been refuted by Ch. Sigism. Liebe (*Prodrom. reformationis pia memoria recolenda sive nummi Ludovici xii. regis Gallorum epigraphe Lips. 1717.*) and by Deylingius (*Observ. sacræ p. iii. dissert. 50, p. 399*).

[t] Mem. de Trevoux, June 1712, p. 1092, & seq.

by

by means of which, under pretence of describing them as they were, they were seriously informed what they ought to have been [u].

We are persuaded that when the praises bestowed upon the Emperors and Empreses on medals which were avowed, acknowledged, and authorized by the senate, municipal towns, and colonies, are flatly contradicted by all the historians, they are to be considered in no other light than as scandalous monuments of a shameless flattery.

It is very clear that such gross falshood could not have imposed upon wise and well-informed citizens; and even those men whose minds preserved a vigorous independency condemned in secret, and despised with concern, a body of men, who debased themselves by imposture, in flattering a tyrant who was frequently a very monster. But no one will suspect that this body without a soul could have ever intended to consign to ridicule or sacrifice to sarcasm the despot whose chains it so cordially submitted to.

Now the senate of Rome was in so abject a state under many of the Emperors, that it condescended to deify even their most infamous debaucheries and most execrable cruelties [x].

That

[u] Hinc non continuo tamen arguendus amplissimus ordo . . . qui spes suas & vota monumentis id genus consignabant, imo qui his veluti tabulis quum aliter per illorum temporum immanitatem non licebat principes & eorum conjuges officii sui sub commendationis specie frequenter admonere non dubitaret. (De usu & præst. Numism. ant. T. I. Diff. III. p. 118.)

[x] If we examine the medals of that monster of debauchery and cruelty, Commodus, we shall see to what a pitch of meanness not only the senate but the municipal towns and colonies carried their flattery. We shall be shocked to see on the reverse of one of his medals a woman standing before an altar with a pater in her hand, and this inscription, AVCTOR PIETAT. P. M. TR. XIII. IMP.

That we may form an idea to what an extent the Roman senate and people were sunk and degraded it will be sufficient to adduce proofs of the excessive and insolent joy to which they abandoned themselves upon being delivered from a tyrant.

After the death of Nero, two medals of Galba appeared. Upon the reverse of the first a victory holds a laurel in one hand, and a cornucopiæ in the other with the inscription, VICTORIA P. R. [y] upon that of the second, the same inscription VICTORIA. with a figure of victory inscribing upon a shield the letters P. R.

The Romans, however, had atchieved no victory ; but their joy was so great, their transports so excessive, that a great number of the citizens assumed the cap of liberty, as if Rome had recovered its antient freedom [z].

In like manner upon the assassination of Commodus, two medals of Pertinax were struck, one of them representing a woman standing, in a robe, in her right hand a crown, the symbol of joy as well as of victory, according to Hyginus, in her left

VIII. COS. VI. P. P. and to read on others, FELICIA TEMPORA IOVI EX-  
SVPER. P. M. TR. P. XIII. COS. V. PP.—PROVIDENTIAE AVG.—SAL. GEN.  
HVM. COS. VI. P. P. (See Vaillant num. imp. præst. 1. 95 & seq. Numism.  
imper. a populis Graece loquentibus. p. 66—75.)

Such extraordinary flattery will be thought extraordinary from a body whom Caligula called together on a sudden at midnight to insult them by dancing before them, (Xiphilin, p. 131.) His intention of creating his horse consul is well known (Ib. p. 134), And what would he not have done to gratify the cruel pleasure of insulting a body who had completely incurred his contempt, who trembled at his threats, and who by an authentic act had voted solemn sacrifices to eternize the clemency of the cruellest of men in gratitude to him for not cutting their throats, as he had told them he had it in his power to do. (Ib. 134.)

[y] Vaillant Num. imp. præst. n. p. 79.

[z] Ο δε δῆμος των Ρωμαίων εβουθεῖ και υπερχαιρε, και τινες και πιλας ηλευθερωμενοι εφερον. Xiphilin.

hand

hand a cornucopiæ with the inscription LAETITIA TEMPORVM. COS. II. Upon the other a woman standing in like manner holding in her right hand a die, in her left a cornucopiæ, with the inscription, LIBERATIS CIVIBVS [a].

These medals are without doubt injurious to the memories of Nero and Commodus, but they are in a much higher degree monuments of a shameful slavery of the Roman senate and people.

Raillery and satire are the arms of imbecillity, but not of meanness; they announce a sufficient degree of courage to desire revenge, but too great weakness to hazard the effects of it.

Now with respect to the entire body of a nation and particularly of a republic, the senate, which represents it, is never in this situation. It knows no medium between sovereign power and absolute slavery. Let us examine the history of all people and of all ages, we shall easily perceive that the spirit which animates a national body must commonly incline to the extremes. Is it desirous of appearing great? Its fierceness becomes pride. Does it talk of liberty? It is independence which it cherishes, after which it runs, it flies; and as its fear degenerates into pusillanimity, so its circumspection is to be considered as absolute cowardice which it would vainly decorate with the name of prudence.

Thus the Roman people under its consuls ran to arms upon the least discontent, and retired to the Aventine Hill; thus did the Roman senate under its Emperors fervilely kiss the hand of the despot who imposed on it a yoke of iron, and publicly congratulated Nero for having committed a parricide [b].

[a] Vaillant ubi supra, p. 203.

[b] Suetonius, Nero, c. 34.

The body of a nation then will either disdain to arm itself with satire, or it will not have courage to do it. For men do not amuse themselves by turning into ridicule one whom they can cause to tremble, or should he be able to annihilate them. I think myself therefore justified in asserting that every medal which hath upon it S. C. or any other mark of authority, ought not to pass for a satirical one, though it may appear to be so; which appearance very often is nothing more than the mark of servile adulation.

On the other hand, however, care must be taken not to conclude with Klotzius, that there is no where existing any ancient medal carrying the marks of raillery and sarcasm.

For it would be very bad reasoning to conclude that because neither the senate nor the colonies had ever struck any satyrical medal, that private persons had never dared to do so.

Satire in whatever mode it may be conveyed, is, as hath been before observed a secret and hidden means of revenge.

If we consult history, we shall see that it was by no means unknown to private persons at Rome.

It is well known what ribaldry the soldiers of Julius Cæsar threw out in their songs when he entered Rome in triumph [c].

Augustus observing the various writings published against him, commanded that the authors of them should be sought for, they having concealed themselves under feigned names [d].

Another time in full theatre they applied to him a verse of the play [e], and gave him a nick name during a temporary scarcity [f].

[c] Sueton. Jul. c. 49.

[d] Suet. Aug. c. 55.

[e] Ib. c. 68.

[f] Ib. c. 70.



The taste of this prince for precious furniture, and his love of gaming, were made the subjects of two epigrams, one of which was written at the foot of his statue, and the other published during the war of Sicily [g].

Tiberius was by a most insulting play upon his name denominated *Biberius* on account of his drunkenness. "Propter nimiam vini aviditatem pro Tyberio Biberius vocabatur." This Suetonius relates [h], and also that he was called *Caprinus* by reason of his frequent debaucheries in the island of Caprea [i].

As a proof of the audacity of the people towards this prince the following lines were made upon him :

Aurea mutâsti Saturni sæcula, Cæsar,  
 Incolumi nam te ferrea semper erunt.  
 Fastidit vinum quia fitit iste cruorem ;  
 Jam bibit hunc avidè quam bibit ante merum [k].

For many nights together the streets of Rome resounded with nothing but the cries of those who reproached him with the death of Germanicus [l], and even in the open theatre he was reproached with the dissoluteness of his manners [m].

Raillery and satire braved even the cruelty of Nero, and though the weak senate overlooked his crimes, yet private persons did not scruple to accuse him in such epigrams as these :

[g] Ib. c. 71.

[h] Tiber. c. 42.

[i] Ib. c. 43.

[k] Ibid.

[l] "Per noctes celeberrime acclamatum est "Redde Germanicum," Ib. c. 52.

[m] Ib. c. 45.

Quis neget *Æneæ* magna de stirpe Neronem :  
 Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem [n].

If it required intrepidity to reproach the tyrant to his face with the barbarity of his conduct, or the infamy of his manners, no less prudence was required in the dispersing of the epigrams, which were made on this occasion [o].

Sometimes recourse was had to a way less exposed to the danger of discovery, by engraving on stones emblems or symbols, which contained indirect allusions to the conduct or manners of Emperors or Empreſſes, until, become hardened by impunity, they feared not to put upon the stones the very names of the persons turned to ridicule, and accompanied them often with the most injurious epithets.

Such is among many others which might be cited that precious stone in the Stofch collection [p], at the top of which might be read *MESSAL*, at the bottom *CLAVDI*, and in the middle the word *INVICTA*; in every letter of which some allusion to debauchery might be discovered.

In some cabinets may be seen figures cloathed with the Toga, having a roll or volume in their hand, but whose heads and feet are often those of a bear or an afs [q].

If among the Romans these different means to ridicule those in power were employed, is it likely that they would have neglected to use their raillery upon medals, which were more convenient to spread abroad these kinds of satire? It can scarcely

[n] Sueton. Claud. cap. 39.

[o] See also Sueton. Ner. c. 39—45. Oth. c. 3.

[p] Winkelm. p. 443.

[q] Count Caylus had one of these figures. There was a similar one in the Jesuits' library at Rome. The afs appears in the Albani Collection. Caylus iii. 28.

be doubted that they had recourse to this mode, since there are medals which bear all the marks than can be denominated satyrical.

Such are those medals called *Spintrian*, infamous medals struck upon the debaucheries of Tiberius in the island of Caprea, the accounts of which given by Suetonius are suspected of being exaggerated beyond the truth of history [r].

The opinions concerning these Spintrian medals are extremely various: some attribute them to Tiberius [s], others deny that to have been the case [t]: some look upon them to have been the coins struck for the festivals of Venus mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus [u], and lastly, others are persuaded that they should be distributed at the representation of lascivious subjects [x] in the rank of those presents, which were mutually made during the Saturnalia [y].

The numeral letters marked upon one side of these medals have often exercised the sagacity of the learned, and have occasioned different conjectures [z].

It

[r] Bodin (Method. Histor. c. 4.) Muretus (Orat 17.) Tillemont (Hist. des Emper. ii. 488). blame him; while Politian (Præf. in Suet.) Erasmus (Epist. Dedic. in Sueton) endeavour to excuse him.

In support of the opinion that they were struck by Tiberius, Addison says he found them in the island of Caprea (Rem. on Italy, 1705.) But Suetonius mentions only *Sigilla*.

[s] Patin, Numism. Imp. p. 29.

[t] Spanheim de usu & præf. Num. Dissert. xiii. p. 521.

[u] Νομισμα δὲ εἰσφεροσὶ αὐτῆς οἱ μνημενοὶ ὡς εἰσφορὰς ἐραστῶν, Orat. adv. Gentes.

[x] Spanheim, 26.

[y] Klotzius (Hist. num. contumel. et satyr. p. 41, & seq.) But this opinion is least founded of any.

[z] Some imagine these letters, which appear on other medals, denote the Tribunician power (Patin num. imper. p. 29.) others the years of the Emperor's

It is more probable that they were intended to expose to the people at large the debaucheries of their prince, and that there were numbers of like theatrical tickets to circulate them more easily without suspicion, or this not succeeding, they might be thrown among the croud. Martial (viii. Ep. 79) says they fell from the clouds [a], Abbé Orland ranks these medallions of a size between the large and middle bronze.

To these medals we may add some others of a more decent satire.

1. A *Maximinus*, on the reverse of which are the three standards of legions with this inscription: S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI [b]. Is it probable that they would give to one of the most wicked of men, the title of the best of princes, that it should be the senate and people who give him this title, and that at a time when he was not at Rome [c]?

2. A *Salonina* with these words; AVG. IN PACE, at a time when the whole empire was involved in war [d].

reign (Havercamp. p. 287.) others annex different meanings (Dulodorus in Beger Thesaur. Brandenb. II. 611.)

[a] Or rather fell in showers, or, as we say, thick as hail,

Nunc veniunt fubitis lasciva numismata nimbis.

Or, as Claudian expresses it,

Quippe velut denso currentia munera nimbo.

Conf. Prob. & Olybr, l. 45.

[b] See Thes. Morell. tab. 43. Goltzii numism. Aug. tab. 68. Nonnius comment. ad illa. Spanheim de usu, &c. dif. xiii. p. 521. Essay on Medals, Lond. 1784.)

[c] Patin, p. 454. He supposes it the effect of flattery, but only as a conjecture.

[d] "Hæc inscriptio in Salonina insolens & obscura Trifano nostro videtur, sed non inspexerat nummum in Gallieni *ludibrium* cufum . . . unde in dedecus hunc etiam ejus conjugii signatum putamus a quodam tiranno qui similiter eam *in pace Augustam* appellavit, dum per omne imperium continuum arderet bellum." Vaillant, Num. præstant. imperat. n. 387.

3. Ano-

3. Another of the same; on the reverse, Rome sitting presents a victory to Gallienus who is standing, ROMAÆ AETERNAE, when all the provinces were infested by the Barbarians, and occupied by the thirty tyrants [e].

We might cite the coin of *Commodus*, on the reverse whereof uninscribed is a figure of the Emperor advancing to the right, while a figure like Minerva, as if flying away to the left, holds a little behind his head a crown which she seems to take off. It is remarkable that the respective position of these two figures leaves no room for the equivoque of *an dat an tollit*, in the statue of Louis XIV. in the Place des Victoires. In order to be convinced hereof we need only compare this medal with another of the same Emperor, on which a victory crowns him, and in general with all where the like type occurs [f].

It would be easy to enlarge the list, and take into it the medals of Faustina inscribed PUDICITIA, those with VENERI GENETRICI and MATER CASTRORUM, to which Trifan (Comment. I. p. 556) applies that passage in Arnobius, B. iii. *Etiamne militaris Venus castrensibus flagitiis præsidet*, as so many censures of Faustina's conduct [g].

But we need only examine what should be the characters of a medal to lead us to deem it satyrical. They are the following.

First, it should bear no mark of its author: for though the authors of satyrical pieces have sometimes concealed themselves under respectable names [h], we are not to conclude that the au-

[e] Ibid. p. 388.

[f] Patin, p. 265.

[g] A chariot drawn by a parrot and driven by a grasshopper, among the Herculean pictures (Tavola xlvii. n. 6.) is supposed to imply a satire on the famous Locusta, who understood so well the nature and use of poison.

[h] Junius Novatus under the name of the younger Agrippina published a very severe letter to Augustus, (M. A. Sabellicus comment. in Sueton Aug. c. 55.)

thor or engraver of an injurious medal would ever have dared to put on the name of the senate, a municipal town, or a colony.

It should never be of different sizes, though of different metals: there could be no reason for different sizes.

It should be a very rare one: first, because at their origin they could be by no means common; and, 2dly, because it was the interest of the prince to seek them out, and cause them to be destroyed; and, 3dly, in succeeding ages its sting being lost, it would be melted down like many others.

It should also at least on the reverse naturally present a malicious allusion, or a stroke of raillery confirmed by the inscription.

Its explanation should be simple, easy, and striking, have a strict agreement with history to paint the manners of him who was the object of satire, and be so easy to explain as to offer no violence to sense by an interpretation doubtful or inconclusive.

Without having all these several marks united by which we may distinguish it, we cannot think it prudent to assert that such a medal is or is not a satyrical one.

It should further be considered that the raillery to be good should be seasoned with a certain salt, and please by being concealed. In its own time such a medal should be a kind of enigma of which some circumstances little known from the motto, and the circumstances not having always been transmitted to us it is hardly possible for us to guess them. Sometimes too the author intending to be known only by his initials conceals his thoughts under the ambiguity of the meaning, and the equivocality of the terms [i].

Before

[i] This sort of enigma is not absolutely uncommon. I might cite among others a medal of Nero without legend, and on the reverse  $\frac{B. C. | R. S.}{T. G. | E. B.}$  (See Mem.

Before we determine, we should first be sure that the medal is really antique, and has not been retouched. The Italians have practised this trick to make common medals pass for rare. Thus, says an English author [k], a Claudius struck at Antioch may be made an Otho; a Faustina a Titiana; Marcus Aurelius a Pertinax.

2. We should see if the medal has not been re-struck. We frequently meet with coins of Faustina, Antoninus, M. Aurelius, half effaced on which the head of Posthumus has been struck.

3. We should consider if the medal be not made up of two others soldered together.

4. We should examine if the devise has not been altered, and another substituted. This kind of trick, says the same author, may be concealed with so much art as to impose on Antiquaries, and require experienced eyes to detect them.

5. It is right to observe that after Gallienus, the tyrants who usurped the Empire succeeded one another so rapidly that the mintmasters had scarce time to finish their medals, and have in more than one instance given the successor the reverse graven for his predecessor: thus we have PACATOR ORBIS on the reverse of a Marius, who reigned but three days.

de Trevoux, June, 1707, p. 1090), one of Justinian explained by P. Hardouin (Ibid. May, 1608, p. 816)

The solutions usually given of these numismatic problems are arbitrary and more probable than certain. As a proof let us take the medal of Faustina, on the reverse of which is Ceres, standing on a globe, holding a torch on each hand, and the word SOVSTI. As this makes no sense, it has been agreed that it was made up of initials, and various readings have been assigned, all of which would have vanished before the conjecture of Klotzius, p. 56, that it was like many other blunders of the mint-master. The S. C. shews it to have been struck by proper authority.

[\*] Essay on Medals, Lond. 1784.

All these observations may be concluded by observing that in spite of the assertion of Klotzius, antiquity offers more than one example of satyrical medals, as Prosper Marchand [1] hath very well shewn, and yet, allowing that it is frequently so difficult that it is by no means surprizing that the most able Antiquaries have been sometimes divided in opinion whether some particular medal was or was not intended to convey a satyrical meaning.

[1] Diction. Historiq. ou Mem. critiq. et litter. fol. 1758, art. *Medailles* note l. p. 48, & seq.



VIII. *Extract of a Letter from Col. Sydenham to Lord Macartney, dated St. Thomas' Mount, near Madras, Oct. 14, 1786. Communicated by Dr. Lort, V. P.*

Read May 3, 1787.

**Y**OUR Lordship has probably heard that a number of Roman coins have been lately found in Nellore Country. The story is this. A labourer in ploughing some ground found himself obstructed by something which he perceived to be a square building of brick or stone. Having the curiosity to penetrate further he came to a small pot containing several pieces of gold. By some means it reached the ears of the renter, who reported it to the Durbar, and the money was ordered to be sent to Madras. To the great astonishment of the Eastern world, they proved to be Roman coins of different Emperors, the impression of many as perfect and fresh as new. Some had holes bored in them, as if designed as an ornament to be worn round the neck, while on others the impression was nearly effaced. There were about 40. The Ameer gave one to each of his particular friends. I had no chance of obtaining the

same favour; but I saw them all, and proposed to have them drawn with a view to send a copy to your Lordship. The Ameer caught at the offer, and sent me two and three coins at a time, but suddenly stopt, and all my applications could not procure me another. Mr. Gourard superintended the drawings, and they were faithfully copied.

How to account for the coins being found in these parts is not very easy. Some have endeavoured by them to ascertain the precise limits of the marches of the Roman Conquerors into the East, while others suppose these coins brought by travelling Armenians, whom a spirit of commerce spread through all countries, and attracted hither at so early period."

\* \* \* The Coins of which drawings were presented to the Society are eleven in number, of Adrian, Trajan, Faustina, &c. all gold, with the following types and legends:

1. DIVA AVG. FAVSTINA  
PIETAS AVG. A female figure at an altar.
2. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS  
COS III. The wolf and twins.
3. Same legend,  
COS III. P. P. A soldier holding a lance between three standards.
4. Same legend,  
COS III. under a horseman with a spear galloping.
5. IMP. CAESAR. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC.  
P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. S. P. Q. R. FORT. RED.  
Fortune sitting and holding a cornucopiæ and rudder.
6. . . . TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. T. R. P. COS.  
P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Three standards.
7. HA-

7. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS, P. P.  
COS. III. A horseman extending his right hand.
8. Almost effaced seems *Gordian*  
MAXIMO . . . . . A figure sitting holding a spear.
9. IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS.  
V. P. P.  
S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. in a civic crown.
10. Quite indistinct.
11. The same as 9 on both sides, but the Consulship VI.

IX. *Observations on some brass Celts, and other Weapons discovered in Ireland, 1780; by the Rev. Mr. Pegge. In a Letter to the Rev. Michael Lort, D. D. V. P. A. S.*

Read Dec. 20, 1787.

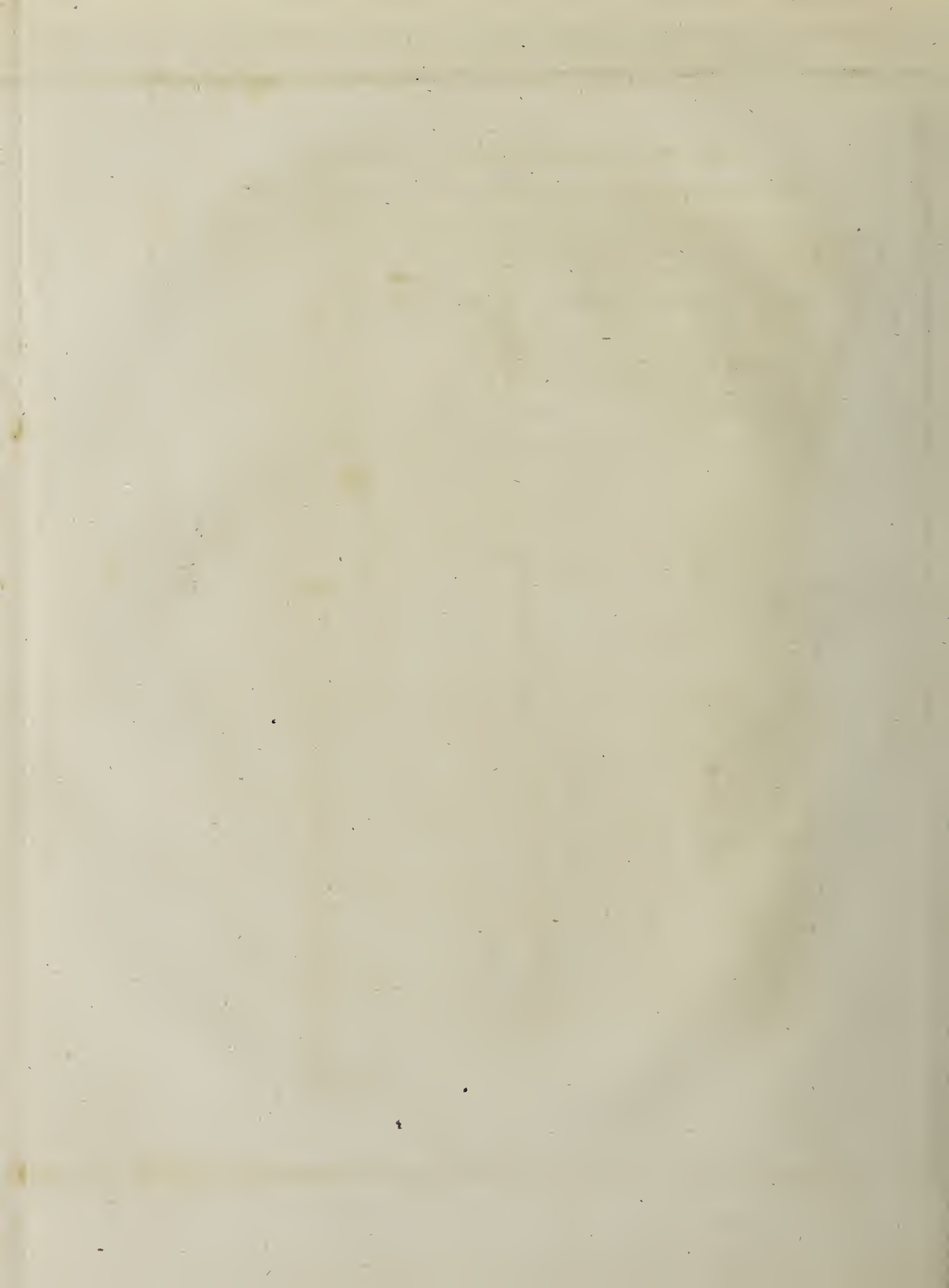
DEAR SIR,

IT is but a very imperfect account I can give you of a late discovery, in the antiquarian way, made in *Ireland*; however it is the best I am able to offer. About the year 1780, two pieces of antiquity were found in a bog in *West-Meath*, unaccompanied with any thing else of note. Lady Sharborne, having been in that kingdom this summer, the pieces I mentioned happily came into her hands, and her Ladyship, on her return to England was so obliging as to make me a present of them.

The drawings of these venerable remains, of the exact size of the originals, were made by the excellent hand of my friend Hayman Rook, Esq. a member of our Society; so that you may depend upon the accuracy of them [a].

[a] See pl. III.





The first of them, marked A. is a *Celt*, as this sort of instrument is commonly called, and a very perfect one. It is of brass, as I suppose the *Celts* in general are, and having a ring, or loop on one side, very nearly resembles N<sup>o</sup> 3, in your VIIIth plate, vol. V. of the *Archæologia*, except that on the flat or broad part it has a rib in the middle, to strengthen it as it were on both sides, which does not appear in the type of that in the *Archæologia*; two, however, in Dr. Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall* are ribbed like this [b].

The use of these brazen instruments seems at present undetermined, it not being yet ascertained, whether they were destined for military purposes (though I have seen them called *Battle Axes* [c]), or for civil and domestic employments. Even you, Sir, who have so ably and professedly discussed this matter, and taken so much pains with the subject, appear to leave it an undecided point at last [d]. I shall not therefore attempt to resume the consideration of this business after you; but I hope I may venture to embrace this opportunity of making two or three general observations concerning these *Celts*, let the use of them be what it will, premising, however, that the specimen, which gives occasion for the present letter, was found in company with the *spiculum*, or *cuspis*, marked B. in the plate, which with all certainty may be pronounced a military weapon, as it can be nothing else; and that Mr. Adam Wolfey the younger, of Matlock in Derbyshire, has a *Celt*, found near the same place A. D. 1787, at *Blakelow* in the parish of *Ashover*, with a spear head of flint, a military weapon also.

[b] Dr. Borlase, plate XXIV.

[c] See hereafter.

[d] Dr. Lort, *Archæologia*, vol. V. p. 106, & seq.

It has been remarked above, that the *Celts* were in general of brass, and therefore it was presumed by some gentlemen in Ireland that this in question was older than the invention of iron, and must of consequence be of most remote antiquity. But the position here laid down, ‘that this *Celt* is older than the invention of iron,’ is with me very questionable; since, though Hesiod and Lucretius, whose words need not be cited to you, do, by express testimony and assertion, corroborate this opinion, and the Arundel marbles state that iron was not invented till 186 years before the Trojan war [e], yet Holy Scripture informs us better, it being there related, that *Tubal Cain* was ‘an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron [f]!’ There are also other passages of Scripture which tend to evince and confirm the use of iron in the world, in some parts of it at least, before the æra assigned by the marbles. So that it seems to come to this, that in *Greece*, according to Hesiod, brass was known before iron, but that in other regions the case might be different. As to Lucretius, he, we have reason to think, only speaks the sentiments of the learned Greek, his predecessor.

But the consequence which these gentlemen draw from their premisses is as infirm and fallacious as the premisses themselves, since though brass should be admitted to be known in the world, generally speaking, before iron, it would not follow, that our *Celt* was prior in age to the invention of iron; for please to consider, every region of the globe did not produce iron, either in the ore or in the stone, and that in those places where it was

[e] Dr. Borlase, p. 289, seq. Montfaucon, *Antiq.* IV. p. 37. It is mentioned accordingly by Homer, *Il.* Δ. 123, Θ. 15. The *Dabæ* and *Chalybes* were the first inventors. *Amm. Marcell.* xxii. c. 8.

[f] *Genesis* iv. 22. Montfaucon esteems iron to be as old as the world, *IV.* p. 37.

found,



found, it might yet be scarce; so that the new metal, after discovery, might not be immediately brought into common and general use, but brass might continue to be employed for every purpose, long after iron was partially and imperfectly known [g]. All then that can be inferred and allowed is, that the Irish *Celts*, of which we shall find hereafter several have been discovered, are only older than the introduction of iron *there*, and when that was no one can pretend to say [b]; wherefore the result is, that though their *Celts* are undoubtedly ancient, yet they may not rise so high in antiquity as some at first have rashly concluded, but that it might require some time for the islanders to gain experience of the superior excellence of iron in point of hardness and duration, before they would entirely lay aside and abandon a metal so long in use, and so much more plentiful, as we will suppose brass in this case to be, though so much more feeble and less efficient.

2dly. It seems to be agreed among the learned and judicious, that the ancients, who made such common use of this soft metal, and we may say, for all purposes, had a method of tempering and hardening their brass [i], so as to make it more serviceable by carrying a sharper and more lasting edge. This, Sir, is a most reasonable supposition; and I have hardly a doubt but we could do the same at present, were we to attempt it, and had the like occasion and necessity for doing it that they had. I therefore shall not scruple to assume, that the *Celts* were in

[g] Dr. Borlase, p. 290. Gov. Pownall, *Archæologia*, III. p. 536. Montfaucon, l. c.

[b] Quære, when iron was first known in England?

[i] Montfaucon, l. c. Mr. Hearne, Letter to Mr. Thoresby, in Leland's *Itin.* I. p. 135—138. Dr. Lort, l. c. p. 108. Gov. Pownall, l. c. p. 355.

some manner improved and hardened by the very useful invention of the respective people that used them.

3dly. The *Celts*, of which there a great variety, as may be seen in your plates, are not of *Roman* but of *Celtic* extraction, from whence, as reasonably may be presumed, the name, whoever first imposed it, was taken [k]. Mr. Lethieullier, though particularly attentive to this object, found but few specimens of this instrument in the *Italian* cabinets when he was in that country, and their virtuosi, he observed, looked upon those that appeared there as *transalpine* antiquities [l]. It is certain that they are not seen on the Trajan or Antonine pillar [m], nor do Vegetius and the rest of the Roman writers on the art military speak of, or describe any offensive weapons of the kind. And therefore, when any have been found in undoubted Roman stations, and accompanied even with Roman coins, &c. [n] we are obliged to suppose, either that they came thither by chance as the spoils of some *British* or *Celtic* enemy, or that they were the arms, or tools, of barbarian auxiliaries [o].

In regard now, on the other hand, to the *Celtæ*, whom, I presume, we may also call *Gauls* and *Britons*, the *Celts* ‘ have been  
‘ found in great numbers, as you inform us, in various parts of  
‘ this island [p] (of *Britain*) and figured and described by various  
‘ authors;’ and this under our present consideration was dug up in *Ireland*, where, as seems to be allowed on all hands, the

[k] But see a different etymon, from *cælare*, to engrave, in Dr. Borlase, p. 283, which, however, I do not approve.

[l] Dr. Borlase, p. 282.

[m] Idem, *ibid.*

[n] Idem, p. 281.

[o] Idem, p. 283.

[p] See also Dr. Borlase, l. c.

Romans never were settled [q], and where, as in *Tipperary* [r], and *Leitrim* [s], to say nothing of the Isle of *Man* [t], many implements of the kind have at times been found. It seems then, that one may safely pronounce the *Celts* to have been either domestic tools, or warlike instruments, call them which you please, of the *Britons*, *Ibernians*, *Celtæ*, or *Gauls*. Sir James Ware terms that found in the county of *Leitrim* a *military ax*; but the piece before us has nothing of the nature of an ax, for were you to put a helve or handle to it, by means of the two grooves and the loop, you perhaps might make a working tool of it, but nothing like an ax; and the same may be said of all *Celts* of this form. However, the same learned author informs us, ‘that  
 ‘ the Irish horsemen were attended by servants on foot, com-  
 ‘ monly called *Daltini*, armed only with darts or javelins, to  
 ‘ which thongs of leather were fastened wherewith to draw  
 them back after they were cast.’ And afterwards, describing the *Kerns*, a species of the Irish military, ‘These, he says,  
 ‘ fought with darts or javelins to which a thong was fastened,  
 ‘ swords, and knives or skeyns.’ If my specimen of the *Celt* be a military weapon, it was probably one of these darts or javelins, the loop on the side being in appearance intended to receive such a thong as Sir James speaks of.

This, Sir, is all that needs be said, and perhaps more than needs, on the figure A; so I proceed to that marked B, an object of a very singular kind, novel in appearance, and well deserving the attention of the curious. However, it is not

[q] Col. Vallancey, Gram. p. 2, Camden, col. 1315, and others.

[r] Dr. Lort, l. c.

[s] Sir James Ware, p. 161. edit. Harris.

[t] Idem, p. 217. It seems they were often found in this island.

an easy matter, in my apprehension, to decypher it, or to give its proper name, and it is with the utmost diffidence that I attempt it. It is of brass, as might be expected, since Sir James Ware writes, ‘As to the military arms of the more ancient Irish, it is past controversy that they were made of *brass*, and so were those of the ancient Greeks, Germans, and Britons [*u*].’ It is six inches long, and weighs at this time near three ounces, much too heavy to be thought the head of an arrow. It must therefore have been a weapon (for a military weapon undoubtedly it is) for casting or darting by the hand. This intention seems further evident from the nature of the socket, or the round hollow part, at the bottom, which being but  $\frac{7}{12}$  of an inch in diameter at its orifice, was incapable of receiving a shaft of much substance or strength, for pushing. A shaft, however, it certainly had; witness the existence of this socket, and the two holes opposite to each other at the distance of half an inch from the said orifice, and apparently designed for a rivet to connect and fasten the two members or parts of the instrument together. The length of its quondam shaft it is now impossible to discover; for though we should suppose, for once, the Roman *Pilum* and this Ibernian weapon to have been of the same kind, (and some indeed have termed it a *Pilum*) yet this imagination will not assist us, since the length of the Roman *Pilum* is far from being exactly ascertained, some of the ancients making it near two cubits long in the shaft, and the point 9 inches [*x*], and others 5 feet 6 inches [*y*]. I shall say no more of a matter so uncertain.

[*u*] Antiq. of Ireland, p. 161.

[*x*] Polybius, in Montfaucon, IV. p. 40.

[*y*] Vegetius, II. c. 15.

The socket, or round hollow part, is outwardly less than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of its length, and the rest, to the point, is quadrangular, to cut and penetrate the more easily. And it is for the same intention, I presume, that two of the edges, opposite to each other, have ribs a little raised, as is expressed in the drawing. This is a remarkable circumstance, as is also the quadrangular form itself; Vegetius observing, that the Roman *Pilum*, to compare it again with that, was only triangular [z], which indeed must have been a better shape for the purpose than this. Appian, however, in one place gives it a quadrangular form [a]. But whatever advantage our instrument might derive from its figure, it never could perforate a cuirass of almost any kind, the point is so blunt, and to all appearance never was much sharper. It could only serve against an unarmed foe, whether thrown or kept in hand. But in this respect our weapon differs very materially from the *Pilum*, the *Acies* or *Spiculum* of which was purposely made so slender and acute as to break in striking the enemy, that so he could not make any use of the dart by throwing it back upon his assailant [b].

It has been noted above, that the Romans never established themselves in Ireland, if ever they invaded it; consequently, that it must appear unreasonable to expect to find any of their weapons there. This *Cuspis* indeed has been called a *Pilum*; but besides the prepossession against that idea just now mentioned, quære, whether the *Pila*, after Julius Cæsar's time, were

[z] Idem, l. c. 20. II. c. 15.

[a] Appianus de Bello Gallico. p. 1191. edit. Tollij.

[b] See Horace ii. f. i. 14. and the Commentators Dacier and Baxter: also Polybius in Montfaucon, IV. p. 40, and Stewechius' ad Vegetium, p. 42.

always made of iron [c]; and further, whether their heads did not always resemble those of their spears, from which they could only be distinguished by the shortness of their shafts. This is assuredly the case of those darts which are esteemed to be *Pila* in Montfaucon [d].

The Romans, however, had a missile weapon called a *Verutum*, mentioned by Cæsar [e], Livy [f], Vegetius [g], and many other ancient authors, and thus described by Montfaucon: ‘The *Verutum* also was a kind of dart, which Polybius makes to be three cubits long; it was four square, and very much of the shape of a spit, from whence it borrowed its name, *Veru* being the Latin word for a spit [h].’ This, you observe, Sir, had no barbs, and supposing our *Cuspis* once had a shaft of the same length it would accord perfectly with it. But still one cannot esteem the weapon in question to be a Roman *Verutum*, for the reasons above given, and because the Gauls, or Celtæ, used the *Verutum* as well as the Romans. This appears from that memorable story related by Julius Cæsar concerning the two valiant centurions, competitors for fame, Pultio and Varenus. The former, he says, was embarrassed by a *Gaulish Verutum* sticking in his belt, (the Greek Version terms it *ξυσός*) so that he could not readily draw his sword, but was relieved and saved by his rival Varenus, who afterwards was rescued,

[c] Compare Vegetius, l. c. 20. II. c. 15. Appian. de Bello Gall. l. c.

[d] Montfaucon, p. 13, 14, 15.

[e] Cæsar de Bello Gallico V. c. 36.

[f] Livy, X. 29.

[g] Vegetius, III. c. 14.

[h] Montf. IV. p. 41.

in his turn, from imminent danger by Pulvis [i]. I am of opinion, Sir; but it is only my opinion, that at last one may venture to call our warlike instrument a *Celtic Verutum*, as being used both in Gaul and in Ireland, and perhaps the only one of the kind hitherto discovered; but of this, you London gentlemen, who have better opportunities of viewing the remains of antiquity, and of consulting books, than I in this sequestered place can pretend to, are the best judges. The *Celtæ* came into these western parts from the N. E. quarter of the globe, and there we find, what is very remarkable in the case, a people called *Mosche* in the army of Xerxes, who used, according to Herodotus, just such a weapon as ours, viz. short shafts with long heads [k].

The learned begin now to think, that the *Romans* had a *Celtic* original [l], the same with our *Ibernians*, and therefore no wonder, the *Verutum*, with small differences and variations, should be a weapon common to both nations without copying one another. And thus, Sir, though the *Romans* might, after some years, think proper to abandon the *Celt*, a *Celtic* weapon, once but very anciently used by them, and none of these are ever now found in *Italy*, yet the *Verutum*, another *Celtic* weapon, might be retained by them; consequently, and upon this state of the case, the *Verutum*, an instrument well known to and used by the *Romans*, might be found in *West Meath*, though the *Romans* were never there.

[i] Cæsar, l. c.

[k] Herodotus, Polymn. c. 77.

[l] Col. Vallancey, Introd. to Irish Gram. passim. Pezron I. c. 19. II c. 1. Pelloutier I. c. 10.

This address, Dear Sir, from an old acquaintance, and one indebted to you for many acts of friendship and regard, will not prove disagreeable, I hope, to *you*, who are running the same course of literature as myself.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

P. S. After this letter was written, Mr. Rooke, whom I had the pleasure of mentioning above, signified to me that he had a *Cuspis* of the spear kind in his possession, found in the forest of Shirewood about the year 1777, and favoured me also with a drawing of it marked *C* in the plate. This, if it can be admitted that the Romans used bras for their *Pila* after Julius Cæsar's time, one would judge to be a Roman *Pilum*, from the sharpness of its point [*m*], the loops for a thong to draw it back, and the smallness of its orifice at the bottom, capable only of receiving a very slender shaft. But the most astonishing thing of this sort is the spear-head marked *D*, the property of Philip Gell of Hopton, Esq. in Derbyshire, by whose free permission Mr. Rooke has here represented it. It was found in a ground belonging to Mr. Gell at Middleton, a hamlet in the parish of Wirksworth, in Derbyshire, the beginning of May last, by a labourer, in opening a tumulus, or barrow, composed of

[*m*] This is somewhat obtuse in the drawing, the extremity having been broken off, and perhaps at the time it was thrown.

lime



lime stone, the stone of the country. It lay on the natural ground, about the middle of the barrow, on the right hand of a skeleton which was pretty perfect. A spear head undoubtedly it is, for the three rivets, which are now loose, and turn round in their respective holes, were certainly intended to fasten it to its shaft; and the largeness of the orifice at the bottom, does as indubitably justify us in denominating it a true and proper spear; but whether it be a Roman or Celtic, that is, British, remain, must be left in suspense; to the latter, however, one would incline to give it, on account of its rudeness, and the singularity of the rivets.

X. *Some Account of a Roman Road leading from Southampton by Chichester and Arundell, through Suffex and Surrey to London, so far as the same is found in Surrey.* By William Bray, Esq. F. A. S.

Read Jan. 24, and 31, 1788.

THE most learned Antiquaries who have endeavoured to trace the four great roads supposed to have traversed this island in different directions, acknowledge themselves at a loss to find out that which is called the *Ermine* or *Erming* street. That it went from South to North is testified by some of our earliest writers [a], but various are the opinions as to the commencement of it.

Mr. Gale supposes it to begin at Southampton, and to go by Winchester, Silchester, Henley, and Colnbrook to London [b].

Dr. Salmon agrees that it begins at Southampton, and goes to Winchester, but to support a fancy of his own, that the *Pontes* of the Itinerary is near Dorking in Surry, he carries it from Winchester to Farnham, Guildford, and Dorking, and

[a] Henry of Huntingdon, Robert of Gloucester. A sketch of the four great roads taken from a MS. in the Cotton Library, and engraved in Gale's Essay at the end of the 6th volume of Leland's Itinerary.

[b] In the last named Essay.

from

From thence over Bansted downs to London. He says that the Roman road from Arundel to London falls into the Ermine-street at Dorking, though it is manifest that, according to his scheme, it would only cross it at that place [c].

Dr. Stukeley supposes the Erming-street to begin at Newhaven in Suffex; to go by East Grinstead, thence to the Stane-street in Ockley in Surry (between Arundell and Dorking) and thence by Croydon to London [d]. An inspection of a map will shew how strange a course this would be; but if the Dr. had known of the road which has lately been discovered near Lindfield in Suffex, in a direct line from New Shoreham on that coast, towards Croydon [e], and had made his *Hermen-street* (as he writes it) commence at New Shoreham, he might at least have been nearer the truth.

That there was a great road from Arundell on the South coast, which ran North and North-East, near Croydon, and by Stretham to London, is very certain, considerable remains of it being now visible in many places. This probably joined the former from New Shoreham about Croydon or Stretham; so that if either of them was in fact the Erming-street, it may still be doubted which of them is entitled to that name. The remains of the latter are, however, far the most considerable. In the parish of Ockley it has for two miles together supported the traffic of so many ages, though made in a deep clay, and is now the common road under the name of the *Stane-street causeway* [f]. This circumstance may perhaps favor a supposition that the

[c] New Survey, vol. I. p. 66, 67.

[d] Itin. Cur. I. 73.

[e] Gent. Mag. 1781. LI. 306.

[f] Salmon in his Surrey, p. 110, 111, denies that this causeway is Roman work. This is too absurd to need a confutation.

Erming-street is to be looked for here. The learned Selden intimates a suspicion that this Stane-street is a part of the Erming-street [g]; and though he says he decides nothing, a hint of his will have more weight than the positive assertions of some writers. Camden [b], Gale [i], and Horfeley [k], agree that *Woodcote* near Croydon is the *Noviomagus* of the Itinerary. Horfeley's map of the Watling-street from Dover to London, makes it divide at *Vagniacæ* (Northfleet); one branch going straight to London, the other to *Noviomagus* (Woodcote), and from thence by a short turn to London. As he has laid down no other road to or from *Noviomagus*, the reason for this *diverticulum* does not appear; but if we can trace a road from *Regnum* (Chichester) to Woodcote, which is a straight line, the fixing a station at that place will be readily accounted for, and there might be a communication between that and the Watling-street.

Horfeley fixes the *Regnum* of the 7th Iter at Chichester, and speaks of two military ways which issue from it, one towards Southampton (*Clausentum*), the other the *Stane-street*, which he says in a note seems to fall almost perpendicular at London on the military way from Canterbury [l]. If this is so, we should have Southampton as the grand landing place, from whence issued the *Ikeneld-street* and the *Erming-street*; the former according to Mr. Willis's conjecture, as lately laid before this Society, going by Winchester, Marlborough, Cricklade, Cirencester, and Gloucester, through Warwick and Stafford shires to

[g] Note on the 16th song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*.

[b] Camden, *Brit.* vol. I. p. 240.

[i] Anton. *Itin.* p. 71.

[k] *Brit. Rom.* p. 424.

[l] *Brit. Rom.* p. 441.

Tynemouth [*m*], the latter by Arundell through Suffex and Surry to London, and thence through Hertfordshire [*n*] into the North.

However this may be, the road through Surrey has been hitherto so imperfectly described, that I will beg leave to lay before the Society such an account of it as my situation in the neighbourhood of a large and eminent portion of it has given me an opportunity to form; and I the rather do it at this time, as I am enabled to offer to their inspection some antiquities which have been found in that county, near different parts of its course.

The Celts are of brass, and were discovered in the last summer (1787) by some workmen who were digging stone in a manor belonging to Sir Frederick Evelyn of Wotton, Bart. on the Western edge of the parish of Dorking adjoining to the parish of Wotton, on a small hill called *Coast-hill*, consisting of a sandy grit-stone. Near the top of this the men were removing the earth, which was 2 or 3 feet deep, to get at the materials beneath, when they struck on a hard stone of a different nature from the rock, and on taking it up they found that it covered the aperture of a round hole formed in the rock, of about a foot diameter, and in that hole were the two Celts now exhi-

[*m*] Archæologia, vol. VIII. p. 88. On considering Mr. Willis's conjectures as to the Ikeneld-street going from Marlborough, by Cricklade, &c. and what Dr. Plott says of its going in a different course through Oxfordshire towards the country of the *Iceni* in the Eastern part of the kingdom, and weighing the evidence arising from the name being actually preserved in many places on both those roads, I am much inclined to believe that the great road, called the *Ikeneld-street*, began as Mr. Willis says at Southampton, but between Marlborough and Cricklade near Ogbourn divided into two branches, each so considerable as to retain the original denomination.

[*n*] Chauncey's Herts.

bited. Near it was something in the shape of a horse shoe, but on endeavouring to take it up, it crumbled entirely into dust, and they could not tell of what materials it was made. Near the hole was found the piece of copper which accompanies the Celts, and the workmen said they had found several other pieces like it, and also a brick or tile, but took no notice of them, and threw them by with the earth they were removing.

The white flint arrow head was found in a farm called Meriden, which adjoins to the North side of Anstie camp (more particularly mentioned by and by) about a mile and half S. E. of Coaft-hill. The farmer who has lived there many years says he has found several others which have been since lost. This is preserved by Capt. Cornwall of Chart Park in Dorking, who on the 4th of Oct. 1787, found another white flint arrow head in Chart Park about 4 feet below the surface of the ground. Chart lies about a mile E. or N. E. of Anstie camp.

The two fibulæ are the property of Mr. Barnes of Riegate, and were found at Warlingham near Croydon.

The edges of these Celts are so much worn as to countenance Dr. Lort's opinion of their being chissells, rather than weapons [o]; and from the lumps of copper found near them, we may suppose that there was in this neighbourhood a furnace for making them.

Camden slightly mentions this road through Surrey in speaking of Ockley, observing that that parish is near the old military way of the Romans called *Stone-street*, and that it is the

[o] Arch. vol. V. p. 108.

*Aclea* where Ethelwolf, son of Egbert, engaged the Danish army with success [p].

What Bishop Gibson has added to this is only taken from Mr. Aubrey, for whose account of Surrey, meagre and inaccurate as it is, we are still obliged to him, and we must be content with it till our very respectable member Mr. Manning can be prevailed on to favor the public with those collections which he has been long making, and which all lovers of topography earnestly wish to see.

Mr. Aubrey describes the Stane-street causeway thus :

“ It is 10 yards broad, but in some places only 7 ; 2 miles  
“ miles and a half, or 3 miles long. It runs from Belinsgate  
“ to Belinghurst in Suffex, and so to Arundell. It goes through  
“ Dorking church yard, which they find by digging graves.  
“ This causeway is partly in Okeley parish. In winter ’tis ex-  
“ tremely wet. It is made of flints and pebbles ; but there  
“ are no other flints nearer than 7 miles ; and the pebbles are  
“ such as are at the Beaches in Suffex, from whence the com-  
“ mon people say they were brought, and that it was made  
“ by the Devil. It is a yard and half deep in stones, and runs  
“ in a straight line. This way is found by making of ditches  
“ between Stansted and Dorking on the hills. It lies plainly  
“ to be seen in ploughed fields in a farm called Monks, two  
“ miles from hence South, and at Pulborough-heath, 7 miles  
“ on this side Arundell ; and it is seen about Newington [q].

He says that near the church at Ockley is “ the mote and  
“ mole of the keep only remaining of a castle indifferently

[p] Ethelwolf and his son Ethelbald, who commanded an army of West Saxons, defeated the Danes here with great slaughter, after their taking Canterbury and London in 851. Gibson’s Sax. Chron. p. 74, 75.

[q] Surrey, vol. IV. 187.

“ large; of which the tradition is that it was destroyed by the  
 “ Danes, who planted their battering engines that threw it  
 “ down at Berry-hill 2 miles hence.”

He speaks of “ a mountain called *Homebury-hill* in the parish  
 “ of Dorking, near which (adjoining to the road from Dorking  
 “ to Arundell) is a very great camp, double trenched and deep,  
 “ containing by estimation 10 acres at the least. The inhabi-  
 “ tants, he says, have no name for it.”

He likewise observes that “ over against the church of Dork-  
 “ ing is a meadow, called *Benham-castle* meadow, in which  
 “ once stood a fortress destroyed by the Danes, of which nought  
 “ now remains but a large ditch. In a coppice called *Black-*  
 “ *barwes* was another castle demolished at the same time, and  
 “ nothing now but the mote and some few bricks remain:  
 “ from this place to Mekylham, and from thence to Leather-  
 “ head, runs the great Roman road.”

Salmon has added nothing to this except some farther blun-  
 ders and a denial, as mentioned before, that it is Roman  
 work.

I have already observed that a Roman road has been traced  
 from Southampton to Arundell. Between Arundell and the  
 borders of Surrey, particularly about Billingshurst, it is found  
 in a farm called Monks. It proceeds into Surrey, and is found in  
 a farm called Ruckmans; from whence it goes to Oakwood-  
 hill, at the foot of which runs a stream, which is very small,  
 except after heavy rains. Crossing this, a part of it, now 2  
 miles in length, called *Stane-street causeway*, goes through the  
 parish of Ockley, descends the hill towards Dorking, leaving  
 the turnpike road on the right, and is found in the farms called  
 Buckenhill, Bear, Morehurst, and Kitlands (its course hitherto  
 from Arundell or near it being all deep clay) from whence it  
 goes



goes very near a camp called *Anstie*, on the edge of a high hill, and is found in the woods, called *Sweyre woods*, and points towards Dorking. It seems to be agreed that it went through the present churchyard of that place. From thence it pointed to a passage of the river Mole, where now stands a bridge called Burford-bridge, but where there was always an easy ford, except in time of floods; and which passage, being amongst the swallows, is often in a dry summer without any water. On the further side of the river here the left hand bank was partly pecked down a few years ago to widen the road, when I well remember seeing a layer of stones in it. From hence the course of it would lie over a hill called Juniper-hill in Mickleham (now covered with a fine plantation of trees formed by the late Sir Cecil Bishop) and it would come out on Mickleham-downs. It is accordingly seen there in a ridge of considerable extent, terminating at the entrance of a lane called *Pebble-lane*, which runs between Leatherhead on the left, and Hedley on the right. This lane seems to derive its name from the road. At the end of the lane, the right hand hedge stands on a bank which has much the appearance of a raised ridge. The line directs you to the back of the late Lord Baltimore's park in Epsom, called Woodcote (which has sometimes been confounded with Woodcote near Croydon) out on Epsom-downs, at the foot of the race course. There a large layer of flints has been very lately dug up for mending the roads, which seemed to me, as I rode by it, to have run in a straight line, and may well be supposed to have been part of this road; but I am not sufficiently informed to say this with certainty.

I have searched for, but have not been able satisfactorily to recover, the track any further. However, after crossing the race ground, some small tumuli are seen near the corner of the  
inclo--

inclosures. Near to the line is the seat of Mr. Buckle in Bansted, called *Burrough*. Mr. Manning, who has favored me with a sight of his notes, observes that this name implies a fort of some kind; that, after crossing the road from London to Riegate, at some tumuli called *Gally-hills*, it passes to Woodcote, the *Noviomagus* of the Itinerary; that N. W. of this is a place called *Barrows-hedges* [r]; that in the neighbourhood of Woodcote, at Beddington, Carshalton, Wallington, and Woddens, a great number of remains of wells, buildings, &c. have been found; that, after leaving Beddington on the West, this street is supposed to have passed through Old Croydon; that it is visible on the West side of Broad Green, in a direct line Northward to *Stretham*, which evidently takes its name from it; that from Stretham it went towards the N. E. and having been joined, according to Gale, at the distance of about 2 miles from London-bridge, by one branch from Kingston, through Wimbleden on the West, and another (probably the Watling-street) from the E. took its course through Newington to London [s].

The passage of the river should seem to have been at the old ferry over to Westminster; the name of *Stane-gate-lane* being still preserved there in Lambeth parish.

I have thought it best not to interrupt this account of the course of the road by making observations on several things which offer themselves in the way, but which are worthy of notice, and which I will here add. Instead of being 10, or even 7 yards over, its utmost breadth could hardly exceed 4, though

[r] South of this line on Walton heath Roman bricks, tiles, and other things were dug up about 17 years ago.

[s] I should observe that Mr. Manning does not admit the opinion of this road being part of the Erming-street.

from various encroachments on it, it may not be easy to ascertain it exactly.

It seems truly extraordinary that this road through so deep a country should ever have been deserted; yet it is a fact that in some places where the present road is in wet weather up to the horse's belly in clay, the hedge of an adjoining field stands on and incloses the old causeway, which the farmer ploughs up to sow his wheat on.

A little to the East of Stane-street causeway, near Ockley church, is the site of what Aubrey calls the castle. It is a plot of ground about 50 yards square, which has been encompassed by a ditch. To the right of this, there is a high bank extending therefrom to an oblong inclosure of 150 yards by 100, surrounded also by a ditch. The high bank here mentioned must be what Aubrey means by *Berry-wood-hill*. There are two hills of that name, the one about half a mile from this spot, the other where Mr. Walter built his house, which is some miles off. It is unnecessary to observe that no annoyance could have been given in early times to the fortification at Ockley from either of these hills. The Rev. Mr. Woodroffe, rector of Ockley, has lately dug entirely through the causeway in his glebe land to make a ditch, and found it about 4 feet and a half deep, formed of several rows of flints and other stones laid alternately and bedded in sand or very fine gravel; and laid with the utmost regularity and neatness. The flints must have been brought from the downs near Dorking, at least 7 miles distant from Ockley. If the other stones were brought, as has been conjectured, from the sea beach, they had a much longer journey.

When this road ascends the hill towards Dorking, it passes very near the foot of the camp which Aubrey says had no name, but which is well known by the name of *Anstie*. It manifestly

takes its name from its situation on the hean-ryge, i. e. the highway. It is on the brink of a high hill which commands a most extensive view.

The shape is irregular according to the form of the ground, as appears by the plan now laid before the Society [1]. It contains near 12 acres, enclosed on the North and part of the East and West with a double ditch; a deep precipice on the South part of the West forming sufficient protection on those sides. The area was planted by the late Mr. Walter (who purchased the farm to which it belonged) about 25 years ago, with fir and many other sorts of trees, leaving the center clear; with many walks up to it, and a walk round great part of the outside. To the South side is an extensive view over the Weald of Surrey and Suffex, to the South downs, which rise so high as to intercept a sight of the sea. To the West, the prospect extends into Hants, and to the East into Kent. To the North is that range of hills which runs from Farnham through the whole county of Surrey into Kent, of which the point called Boxhill makes a conspicuous part. A large piece of water, called Yewd pond (belonging to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk) in Newdegate, is seen to the East, with Riegate and many other places.

Three miles West of *Anstie*, on the South East declivity of another projecting hill, which also overlooks Suffex, but is parted from Anstie by a deep and wide valley, is the camp called *Homebury hill*, mentioned before. It lies on the borders of the parishes of Ockley, Ewhurst, and Sheire, contains about 9 acres,

[1] The plans of this and Homebury camp were drawn and engraved by Mr. James Edwards, for a work which he is now publishing in numbers, being a map and description of the road from London to Brighthelmstone, taking in a good deal of the adjacent country.

and is double ditched on the North and West sides, but single on the other; the E. W. and N. sides are nearly regular, as will appear by the plan; the S. runs out with the ground to a point.

These camps have been confounded together by Aubrey, whose erroneous account, as mentioned before, has been copied by Bishop Gibson; which is somewhat extraordinary, as he had communications from Sir John Evelyn, near whose house both these camps are situate.

Between these camps is *Leith hill*; the prospect from which has been so often mentioned. It is more extensive than that from *Anstie*, and when the sun is in a proper position, the sea is discovered from it through an opening on the South downs. Mr. Hull, who had a good house on the side of the hill, built a tower in 1763 for the accommodation of those whose curiosity should lead them to the place, and I am told it is a sea mark. He was buried in it by his express desire, with an inscription to his memory on a mural tablet.

I am sorry to add that so little regard has been shewn either to his memory, or to the public accommodation, that this tower is already become a ruin; the staircase, floors and windows are entirely torn away; and the inscription in a great degree effaced.

As to *Benham Castle*, and *Black-hawes Castle*, mentioned by Aubrey, I never could find any trace of either of them.

In a farm near Westumble, between Dorking and Mickleham, a little to the North or N. W. of the course of this road, a number of brass coins of the lower empire were ploughed up by the farmer some years ago. Some of them are in my possession, but they are all so common as not to be worth exhibiting

to the Society. The account given me by Mr. Barnes of Riegate of what was found on Walton-heath, as mentioned before in note [r] p. 104, is as follows.

On a heathy common called *Walton heath*, but lying partly in Bansted, and partly in Walton on the hill, there was in the middle of the heath a plot of ground containing about a quarter of an acre, which was green-sward, though all around it were brakes and heath. It was full of little hillocks, and appeared to be remains of foundations of some building. About the year 1772 a poor man had leave to build a cottage on this heath, and fixed on this spot. He began to dig, but finding it full of broken tiles and other materials, which were troublesome to him, he left it, and began to work about 30 yards more to the East. Here he dug up many tiles, some of the size and colour of common paving tiles; some of the colour of mud; some red on the one side and blue on the other; many others about 18 inches long and 12 wide, and near two thick. This being known, he was ordered to desist, and a member of this Society intended to have prosecuted the enquiry in a careful manner, but unluckily nothing has been done about it. Many of the small tiles remained undisturbed; they seemed to be laid in mortar, and to have formed a flue; there appearing to have been two parallel walls only 6 inches asunder. Here were found several square trunks or pipes of baked clay of a dull red colour, which Mr. Barnes describes as being 5 inches and a half on each side and 3 inches and an half in the clear within, of the thickness of our common tiles; the length he does not mention. Two sides of an imperfect one were rudely figured, but with a regular impresson; the other sides were plain, and had in the middle of each an oblong hole little more than 2 inches wide, and

and supposed to have been 6 inches long. The workman said it stood on one tile, and was covered with another, and was full of a blackish substance resembling powdered peat.

\* \* Mr. Bray exhibited one of the earthen trunks, and part of a figured tile mentioned in this paper; together with a brass figure supposed of Esculapius, discovered in Surrey, but in what place Mr. Barnes had not informed him [u].

[u]. See plate IV.

Vol. IX. Pl. IV. p. 109.



XI. Obser-

XI. *Observations on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, and on the Corporation of Free Masons supposed to be the Establishers of it as a regular Order. In a Letter from Gov. Pownall, to the Rev. Dr. Lort, V. P.*

Read Feb. 14 and 21, 1788.

SIR,

Bath, Jan. 9, 1788.

THE following paper collects and puts together some scattered historic traces of the architecture used in the transalpine parts of Europe, in order from thence to suggest a line of inquiry after the origin of that particular species of it, called the *Gothick*; and also after the institution of that Collegium or corporation of Free-masons, whom I conceive to have been the first formers of this architecture into a regular and scientific order, by applying the models and proportions of timber frame-work to building in stone.

When the Romans conquered, and held possession of our isle, they erected every sort of building and edifice of stone, or of a mixture of stone and brick; and universally built with the circular arch. The British learnt their arts from these masters. This art continued to be practised in Britain after it had been lost in France, by the ravages and desolation which the continent experienced. For when the cities of the Empire in Gaul, and the fortresses on the Rhine were destroyed, Constantius Chlorus A. D. 298. sent to Britain for, and employed, British architects in repairing and re-edifying them. By thus drawing off the British artists and mechanicks, and by the subsequent devastation



tation of the island, all use, practice, and knowledge of the Roman art were lost. The buildings erected then were either of whole logs, or of timber uprights wattled, such as at this very day in the North is called *stud and mud*. The Scotts appear to come forth amongst the first native architects of our isle, who invented the method of squareing the timber, and framing the fabrick; so as to apply it to large and publick edifices. This invention is expressly called *the Scottish Order*. Bede in his Ecclesiastical History, lib. iii. cap. 25, says: “Finan Episcopus, natione Scotus, in insula Landisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sede congruam, quam tamen more Scotorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque arundine textit.”

Although such was the state of the art of building amongst the native artists in England; and although it was no further advanced for many ages afterward in Saxony and Germany: yet wherever the Christian Missionaries sent from Rome came, they brought with them not only Religion but the mechanick arts, and many sciences, architecture, musick, painting, engraving in silver and copper, and working glass. Many amongst them had great merit, which hath been but little known, being lost in the demerit of the body. These were the restorers of the Roman order of architecture in stone. What buildings were erected by them, and under their direction, have been mistakenly called Saxon architecture. The monkish missionaries began very early, in the romp of their ambition, to erect large stone buildings, magnificent beyond the scale of the state and of the circumstances of the people. See what Oswald[a] says, complaining of those ostentatious edifices which the monks exulted in: “Ego longe aliter intelligo, quod nos miseri sanctorum opera destruimus, ut nobis laudem comparemus. Non noverat ille cœtus pompatica construere edificia, sed sub quali-

[a] Chronica Brompton.

“cunque

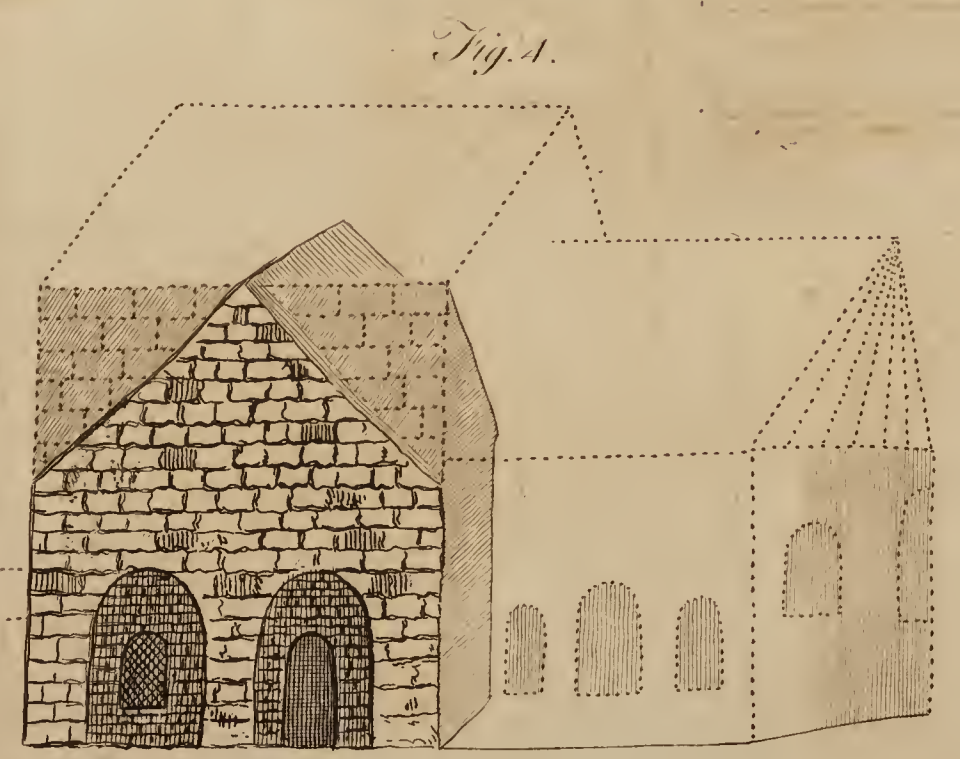
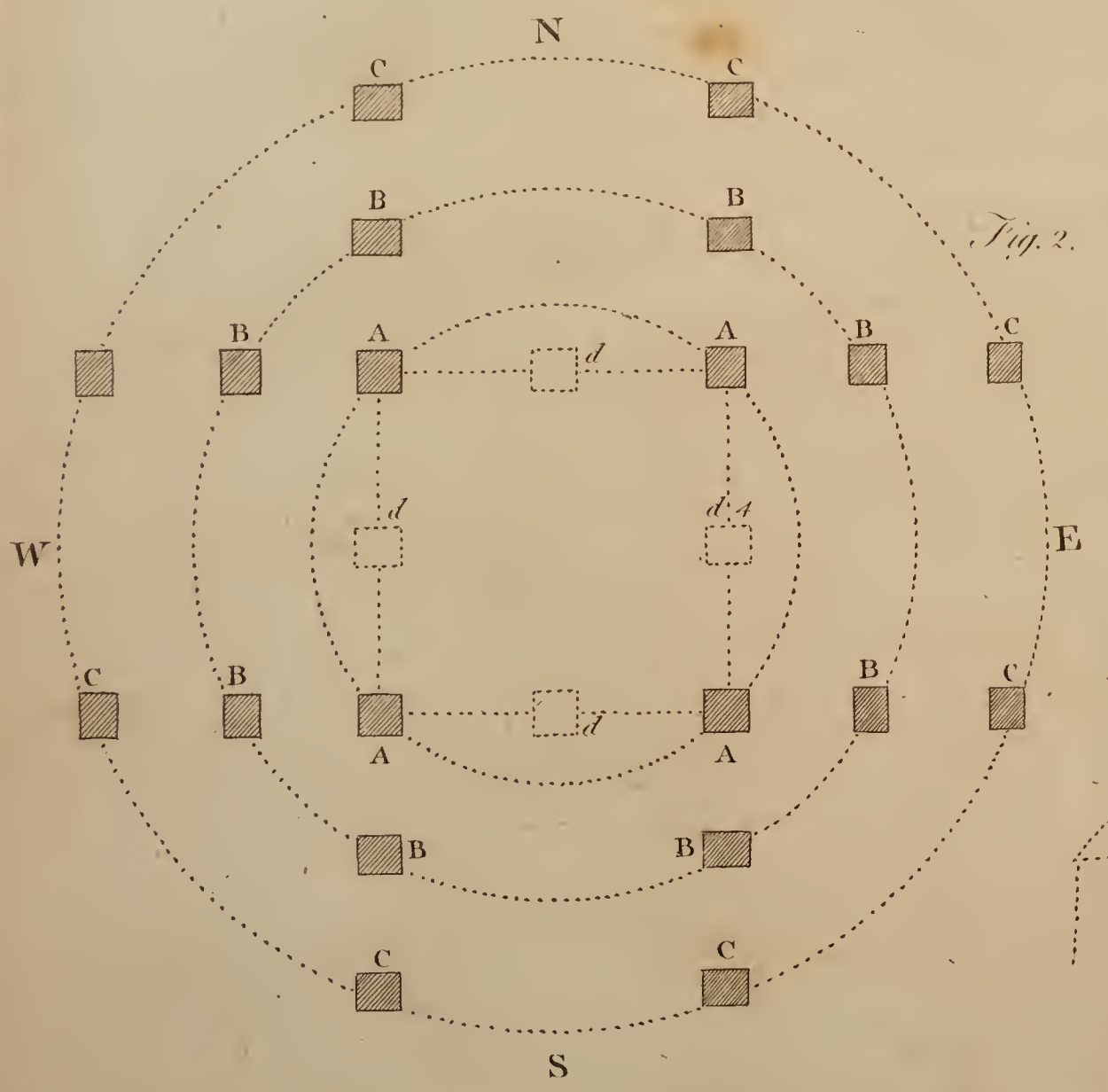
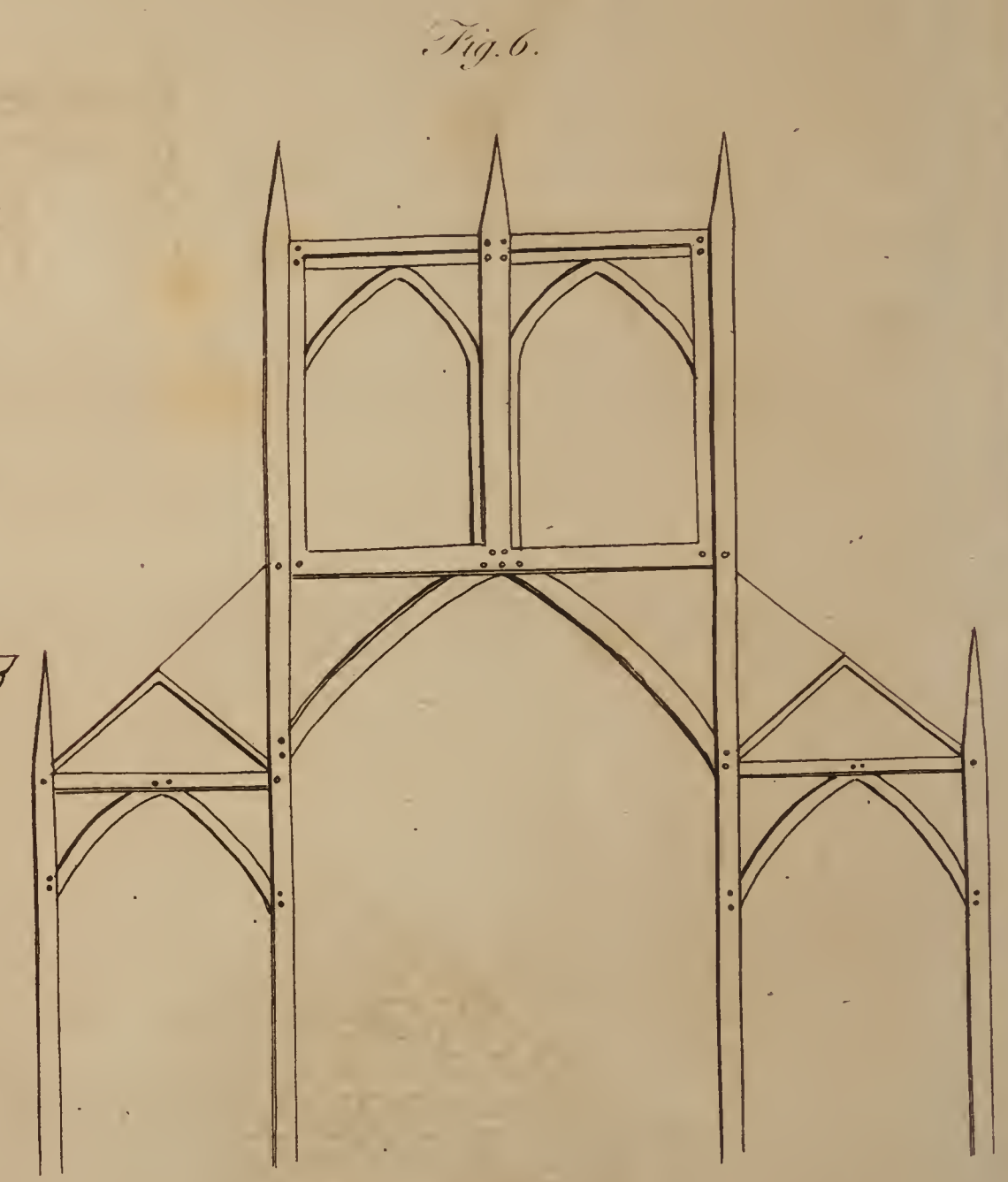
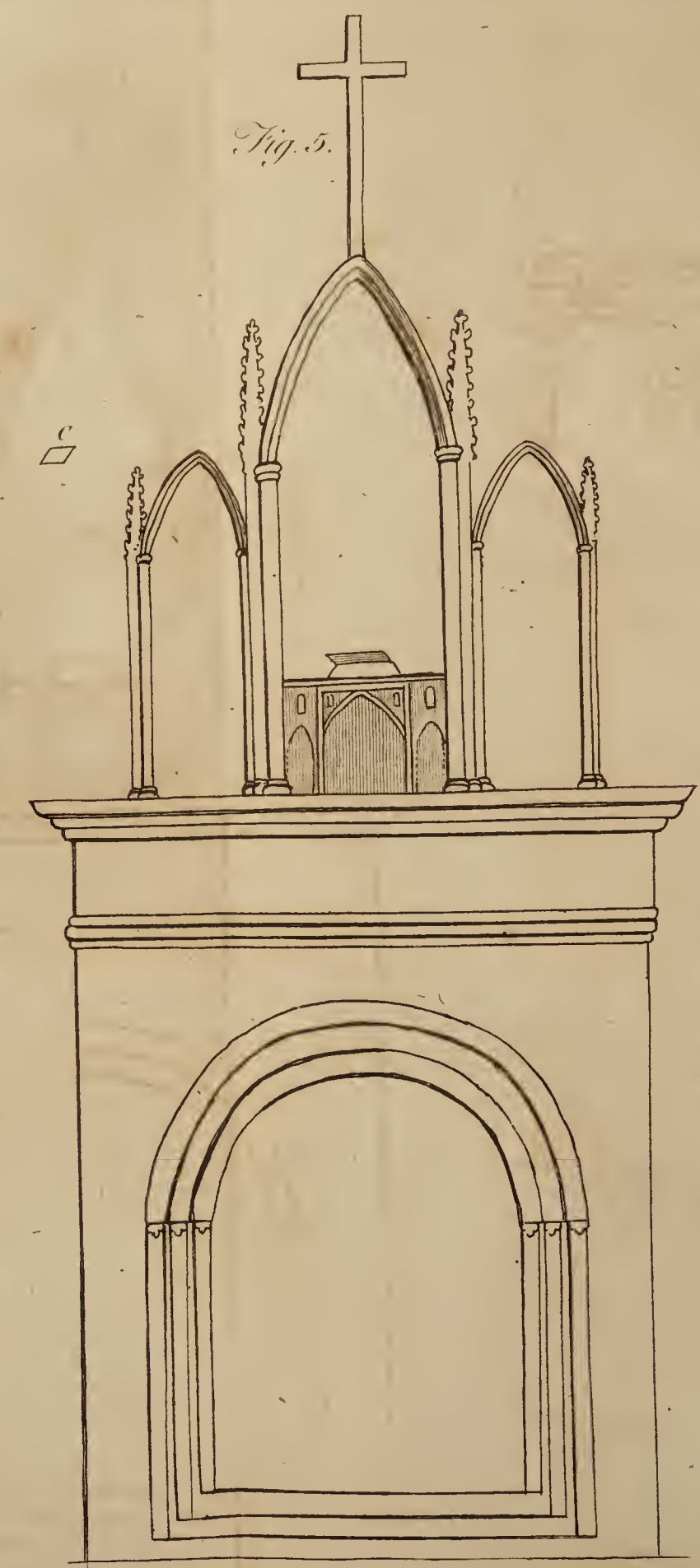
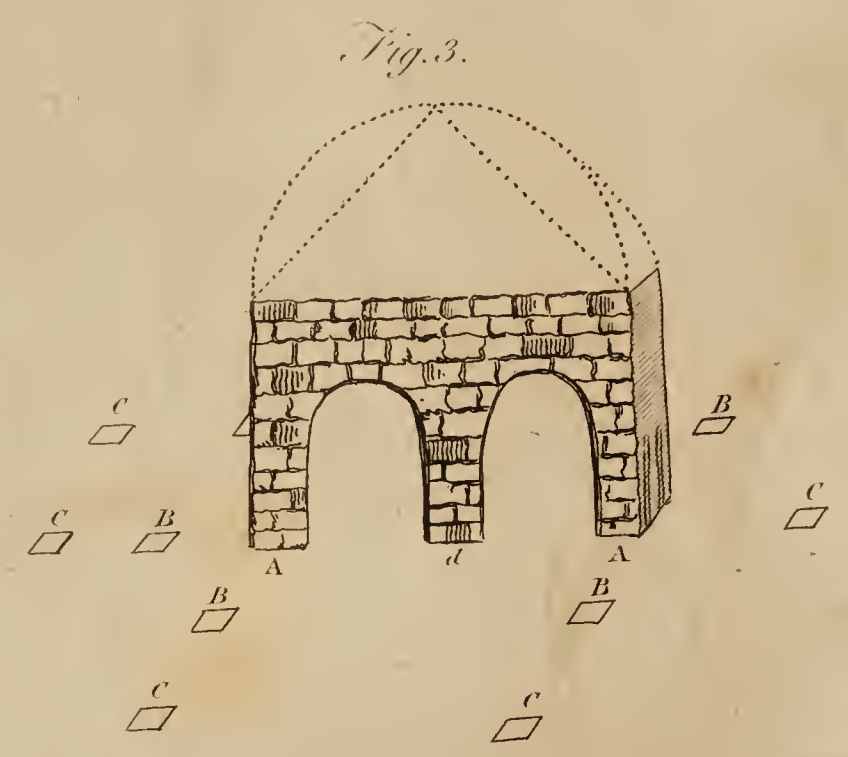
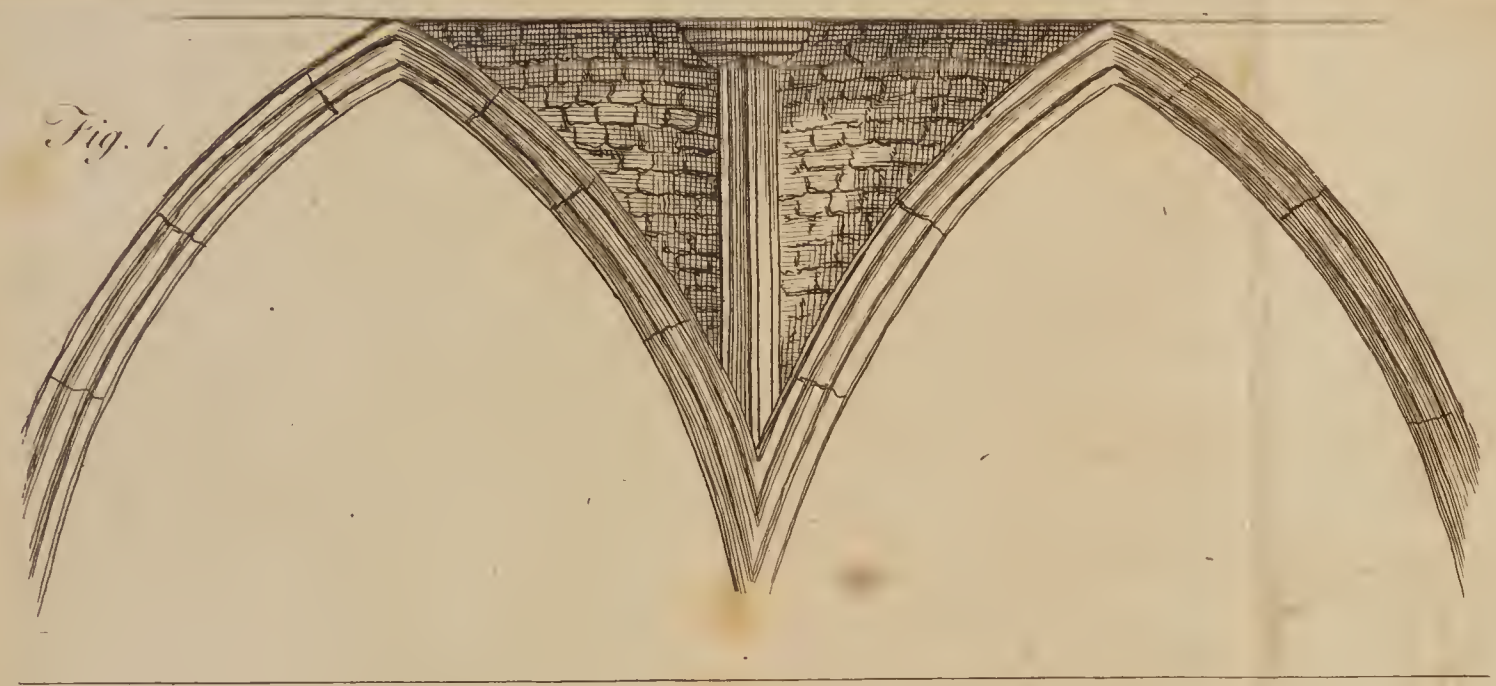
“cunque tecto, seipfos Deo immolare, & subjectos ad exemplum bonum attrahere. Nos è contra utimur, ut animorum “negligentes,” &c. &c. and then he goes on to describe their dwellings and their mode of living.

It is as repeatedly, as mention is made of the saints and bishops building churches, in the earliest times in this island, so constantly said, that their buildings were the *opus Romanum*. It is expressly said of St. Wilfrid, that he learnt his architecture at Rome, and built his church at Hagulsted after that model [b], and then it is added “neque ullam aliam domum *citrà Alpes montes* ædificatam audivimus [c].” Eadmer, describing the difference of the old church at Canterbury, and the new one that was built after the destruction of the former, says, “veterem ecclesiam Romanorum opere factam.” Bede also “testatur hanc “Romanorum opere factam et ex quadam parte ad imitationem ecclesiæ Beati Apostolorum Principis Petri.” The churches built in the time of Alfred, who brought both the arts and artists from Rome, particularly that at Oxford, were built with circular arches *more Romano*. I could pursue this in every building or parts of buildings which were built prior to the close of the 12th or commencement of the 13th century. First that they were built with circular arches; and next described as *Opus Romanum*, although the architects may have been in the latter part of the period Normans or English. Prior to this period several steps of advance in the art of architecture may be traced. In the earliest times they built with rough stone, afterward *politis lapidibus*. But this operation was done only with the adze where they worked in freestone. About the time of rebuilding the church at Canterbury, notice is taken of the introduction of the chisell. Gervasius in his *Chronica*, marking the

[b] Vide Richard Prior Hagulstadenfis de statâ ecclesiæ, lib. i. c. 3.

[c] Ib. c. 22.





difference between the old work and the new, says, “ ibi arcus  
 “ et cætera omnia plana utpote *sculpta secure & non scicello*, hic  
 “ in omnibus ferè *sculptura idonea*.” And at the rebuilding  
 of the church, “ Willielmus Senonensis, vir admodum stre-  
 “ nuus, in *ligno & lapide* artifex subtilissimus, ad lapides for-  
 “ mandos *torneumata* fecit valde ingeniosè; formas quoque ad  
 “ lapides formandos his qui convenerant sculptoribus tra-  
 “ didit [d].” Here we have the turning machine and the mo-  
 delled plains. This scientifick and ingenious architect was the  
 first (I believe) who boldly attempted to work the ribbed and  
 vaulted ceiling in stone and toph, in the same manner as hi-  
 therto the like vaulting or ceiling had been worked in wood.  
 The vaulted wooden ceiling was formed by curved timbers tied  
 at the key of the vault, where their arches severally intersected,  
 to a nave or head piece. These were the stiles or panes of the  
 work: the curvilinear triangles between these were pannelled  
 with plank or deal. This adventurous artist and great mecha-  
 nick undertook to form arches of narrow ribs of stone in the  
 form of the timber stiles, and to support them at their common  
 intersection by a key stone. He then pannelled up the curvili-  
 near triangles with vaulted pannels of toph, which had nothing  
 to support but itself: which yet pressing laterally equally on all  
 sides upon the stone ribbed arches held them from swerving. To  
 form an idea of this, turn your eye to the sketch I have drawn of  
 this operation (Pl. VI. fig. 1.) and at the same time consider what  
 I here quote from Gervasius, of the old ceiling, and the new  
 vaulted roof, “ Ibi cœlum ligneum egregiâ picturâ decoratum,  
 “ hic *fornix* ex lapide & tofo levi decenter composita est.” In  
 the course of working this, the frame work of the scaffolding  
 or center, on which the ribbed arches and vaulted pannels

[d] Chronicon Gervasii.

were to be turned, failed and fell: and this meritorious but unfortunate artist was incurably hurt. His design was however taken up by an English architect, called also William, who successfully executed it. At this period also was introduced the mode of ornamenting the great impost-pillars with groups of small marble columns surrounding them. “Utrunque pilarios apposuit, quorum duos extremos in circuitu columnis marmoreis decoravit.”

This, as far as I am able to ascertain so curious a fact, was the first instance of a stone vaulted ceiling worked after the model and proportions of timber frame work. I beg, Sir, that you would be pleased to observe, that here first comes into use and application THE PRINCIPLE which gave rise to, and upon which afterwards was founded that species of architecture, reduced to a regular order called, either from the timber frame which was said to be *more Teutonico*, or by a nickname as being an order of architecture used *citra Alpes montes*, the *Gothick*.

If we would be informed what was really the Gothic architecture, let us go to Gothland itself: and examine the oldest publick building we can find there. The oldest stone church that we have any account of in that country is the church at Upsaël particularly described by Peringschoild as taking the foundations and uprights of the open Temple of Odin, or rather of the *Conclavis sacratio* of that Temple, for the imposts of its arches, which were circular *more Romano*. Be pleased to refer your eye to the sketch which I give from Peringschoild of this Temple (fig. 2.) you will find it, like our Druid, and the Scaldick Temples, consisting of a number of stones so disposed that the four interior AAAA, stand on the angles of a square, which a circle inscribes. The next eight B are so placed in the angles of an octagon that a concentric external circle inscribes them. The next eight C are in like manner placed in the angles of  
a like

a like octagon and inscribed by a concentral circle at the same distance from the middle one as the middle one is from the interior one. These stones are so placed and disposed that they form four avenues to the *conclavis sacratio*. In building the Christian church, after they had exorcised by fire and other ceremonies the Pagan impurities, it was erected by taking the four stones AAAA as the principal corner imposts of the new edifice, and with a new impost in the middle of each side dddd, building a square walled edifice as in fig. 3. This Temple of Odin is mentioned by many authors as plated with gold, and having a golden cornice. “Postremò hoc templum ejusque  
 “numina, atque pretiosos thesauros, auctis Christianæ re-  
 “ligionis incrementis, violavit Stenkilii regis successor Ingo, qui  
 “alio nomine vocabatur Ingemundus. Is enim templo magnifica  
 “detraxit ornamenta, crematisque idolis, lucus, virentesque  
 “arbores succidit. Ita tunc effectum ut sublato fædo cultu,  
 “murisque simplicior quadratæ formæ *rotundo fornice arcuatus*  
 “remanserit, in longitudinem ad xxiv cubitos extensus, xxv  
 “ulnios latitudine complectabatur, octo columnis innixus (fig. 3.)  
 “porticibus et patentibus ostiis.” This church underwent various chances and changes; but in all these the vaults of the arches of the doors and windows were circular. “Hoc sanè  
 “modo basi veteris templi paganici sustentatâ fabricâ, *ex rudi*  
 “*lapide* erecta basilica ad justum deinde fastigium perductâ est.  
 “Hæc verò nova moles suas etiam passa est vicissitudines.” This church in the year MCXXXVIII was further improved. “Hujus templi paganici relictam structuræ superficiem, accres-  
 “cente indies Christiano cultu, de novo instaurari curavit Suer-  
 “cherus 1<sup>mus</sup> juxta formam, quâ constructa minora illa templa  
 “Anglorum, addito privilegio & juribus cathedralis ecclesiæ.  
 “Nimirum hujus regis factum industriâ ut destructis antero-  
 “ribus

“ribus aulis Fyrensis, templi parietes conjungi curavit, cum  
 “areâ trium paganorum numinum, postquam igne jam ante  
 “diu illud purgaverat Ingo. Tum verò arcuatus ille porticus  
 “atque patentia antehac ostia calce lapidibusque obstruebantur.  
 “(vide fig. 4.) columna illâ mediâ (d 4) quæ orientem spectabat  
 “penitus sublatâ, lateris illius pars novo muro validiore re-  
 “fecta est, addito etiam *fornicato muro* mediocri quo facelli F  
 “(vide fig. 4.) vel adyti sustentaretur moles. Quin & vetusti  
 “illius muri quadrati rudera nova lapidum structurâ superne  
 “elevata sunt.” To understand this latter part see the addi-  
 tional parts *drawn* with dotted lines on fig. 4. Here may be  
 seen if you please to trace it down to the fifteenth century that  
 this church in all its vicissitudes and restorations had the vault  
 circular as also the tops of the doors and windows; which is de-  
 cursive as to the architecture used and practised in Gothland.

All the ancient stone churches built in consequence of the  
 conversions made by the Roman missionaries, were thus built  
 with simple circular arches *more & opere Romano*. This species  
 of building, the same in Gothland as in England, practised  
 down to the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, has been  
 generally referred to as *Saxon*, and commonly so called.

During these periods the architecture executed in timber  
 frame work, was in the North in general, used in the publick,  
 civil, as well as private and domestick edifices. It was advanced  
 to great perfection, and became capable of being highly orna-  
 mented in its way; and this species of architecture you shall see  
 was said to be *more Teutonico*.

This model of building in frame work with high pointed  
 arches, formed by the intersections of the timbers, and espe-  
 cially of an high arch between two lesser ones, is specifically de-  
 scribed by Stubbs, in his *Actus Pontificum Eboracensium*, art.  
*Alured*. “Supra ostium chori, ære & auro opereque incompa-  
 “rabili



“rabili pulpitem fabricari fecit: & ex utraque parte pulpiti-  
 “arcus: & in medio fupra pulpitem, arcum eminentiorem,  
 “cruccem in fummitate geftantem, fimiliter ex ære, auro, &  
 “argento opere Teutónico fabricatam erexit.” (vide fig. 5.) Here  
 is the firft, and as far as I can find, the only mention made of  
 the *Teutonic order* exprefsly described as a fabrication of frame-  
 work.

Examine, if you please, the fketch (fig. 6.) of a frame work  
 timber building; and then, recollecting what was defigned by  
 Willielmus Senonenfis, and executed by Willielmus Anglus,  
 viz. the forming ftone ribs for the arches in the place of the  
 timbers, be pleafed to apply this manner of working in ftone  
 to the building up a front to this frame work edifice; and you  
 difcern the true origin of that order of architecture afterwards  
 called *Gothic*, either as it imitated in ftone the frame work  
 timber fabrications which had been long called the *Teutonic*, or  
 that it was a model of building adopted for an architecture  
*citrà montes Alpes*, as *tramontain* or *Gothick*.

Now let us fee, if we can make out any thing by conjecture  
 as to the introduction and application of this frame work mo-  
 del of fabrick to the building in ftone. I have given a decided  
 fact as to the application of it, in the vaulting of the new  
 Church of Canterbury as a firft beginning in that inftance only:  
 and thofe who have been moft curious in their recherches on  
 this point feem to agree that this very bold fcientifick mode of  
 building in ftone came into ufe and application about the clofe  
 of the 12th or commencement of the 13th century. The times  
 of building the *Gothick new-works* coincide with this æra.  
 A fact, which coincides with this period, offers itfelf to me,  
 that, the churches throughout all the Northern parts of Eu-  
 rope being in a ruinous ftate, the Pope created feveral corpora-  
 tions of Roman or Italian architects and artifts, with corporate  
 powers.

powers and exclusive privileges; particularly with a power of setting by themselves the prices of their own work and labour, independent of the municipal laws of the country wherein they worked, according as Hiram had done by the corporations of architects and mechanicks which he sent to Soloman [e]. *The Pope not only thus formed them into such a corporation, but is said to have sent them (as exclusively appropriated), to repair and rebuild these churches and other religious edifices.* This body had a power of taking apprentices, and of admitting or accepting into their corporation approved masons. The common and usual appellation of this corporation in England was that of *the free and accepted masons*. It will be found that claiming to hold primarily and exclusively under the Pope, they assumed a right, as *Free-masons*, of being exempt from the regulations of the statutes of labourers, laws in England which made regulations for the price of labour: 2dly, in order to regulate these matters amongst themselves as well as all matters respecting their corporation, they held general chapters and other congregations. Doing this they constantly refused obedience, and to conform themselves to these statutes, which regulated the price of the labour of all other labourers and mechanicks, although they were specifically mentioned therein. One might collect historical proofs of this, but as the fact stands upon record in our statute laws, I shall rest on that. These statutes of labourers were repeatedly renewed through several reigns down to Henry VI. and as repeatedly disobeyed by the Freemasons, untill in the 3d of Henry VI. an ordinance was by advice of the Lords, on the petition of the Commons, made, reciting the fact of the contumacious disobedience of these Free-masons, to the subversion of all law, and the great detriment of the community, and stating the necessity

[e] 1 Kings, V. 6.

of applying a remedy, which remedy was the declaring this corporation illegal, and enacting that persons calling and holding these chapters or other congregations should be deemed felons: and all other masons assembling at such should be imprisoned, and pay fine and ransom at the will of the King.

That you may judge for yourself; and compare the fact with my reasoning upon it, I will here insert the statute at large in its original, 3 Hen. VI. 1424, cap. 1. “ En primis come par  
 “ les annuels congregations & confederacies faite par les masons  
 “ en leur *Generalz Chapitres* assemblez, le bon cours et effect  
 “ des estatutes de laboreurs sont publiquement violez & difrom-  
 “ pez en subversion de la laye, & grevouise damage de le com-  
 “ mune, nostre seigneur le roi voillant en ceo cas pourvoir le re-  
 “ medie, par advis & assent susditz et à l’especial request des  
 “ ditz communes ait ordiné et establi que tieux chapitres et con-  
 “ gregations, ne soient defore tenuz, et si ascuns tielz soient  
 “ faitz, soient ceux, qui font faire assembler et tenir ceux chapitres  
 “ et congregations, si ils soient convictz, adjugez pour felons;  
 “ et que tous les autres masons qui veignent as tielz chapitres  
 “ & congregations soient puniz par emprisonement de le corps,  
 “ & facent fyn et raunceon à la volonte du roi.”

This statute ascertains these facts; first, that this corporation held chapters and congregations, assuming, as to the regulating of their work and wages, to have a right to settle these matters by their own bye-laws. The statute declares this to be a subversion of the law of the land, and greivous damage to the community; secondly, it ascertains that this body of masons were a set of artists and mechanicks, the price of whose labour and work ought to be regulated by those statutes of labourers; thirdly, instead of dissolving this corporation, which would in effect have acknowledged it as legal prior to such dissolution, it forbids all their chapters and other congregations to be held,  
 and

and declares all person assembling or holding such to be felons: and that all other masons who attended such should be imprisoned, and pay fine and ransom at the will of the King.

This statute put an end to this body, and all its illegal chapters and pretences. It should seem, however, that societies of these masons met in mere clubs. Wherein continuing to observe and practice some of their ceremonies which once had a reference to their institutions, and to the foundation of powers which no longer existed, and were scarcely understood, they only made sport to mock themselves, and by degrees their clubs or lodges sunk into a mere foolish harmless mummery. In this very mummery, however, we may trace the tenor of the preamble of their charter, reciting the precedent of Hiram's forming a body of Architects and Artists, with corporate and exclusive powers, especially with that of regulating, within their own body, the prices of their labour; which Solomon [f] agreed to abide by, when they were sent to assist him in building the House of the Lord. On this *Scripture precedent* so recited, the Pope by his charter, diploma, or bull, formed the *Free-masons* (whom he sends into the Northern parts to assist in repairing and building the Churches there) into a corporation holding of his Holiness with corporate powers to regulate their own body, and as to the setting and regulating their own prices, with powers exclusive of the municipal laws of the countries into which they were sent. I can easily suppose that they, by a natural and flattering error, mistook the recital of this precedent, for the record of a fact in the history of their Society, as existing in the time of Solomon, and being *the Builders of the Temple*: which supposed and assumed fact is now interwoven with, and makes part of the present mummery. It ought, however, to

[f] 1 Kings, chap. v. 6.

be mentioned to their honor that when these clubs were instituted in lieu of their chapters, &c. they formed a laudable Brotherhood of charity, which hath continued to this day with great exertions of benevolence to the Brotherhood, on many occasions, in different countries, even towards prisoners in war, without distinction of nation or any other circumstance but that of their being brother Masons: and in our country we find the same spirit exerting itself in a very benevolent institution.

As I write at this place from some notes and mere memorandums, I cannot as I would wish quote my authorities; but my notes and memorandums inform me that this corporation was established about the time of the early parts of the reign of Henry III. of England. The Gothic architecture, or Teutonic executing in stone this particular mode of architecture used *circa Alpes montes*, came forward into practice as a regular established order about the same time. Does not your mind here almost irresistibly refer the invention and introduction of this bold and very highly scientific order of architecture to these chosen and selected artists who have shown themselves, in repeated instances, great mathematicians and perfectly experienced mechanicks; and who on assured principles of science executed some of the boldest and most astonishing works which were ever erected by man?

The more closely, and step by step, you trace the timbers of old frame-work fabricks, especially some of the most curious in Germany; the more you study their models and proportions, and then with a like spirit of investigation in the direct line of science examine the models and proportions of the Gothic architecture, the more decidedly you will form an opinion even on conviction that this Gothick order is formed precisely by the adopting the models and the proportions of frame-work timber fabricks erected *more Teutonico*, and by transferring them to the

working in stone ; and if you pursue this in the ornaments, it will strike you still more forcibly.

As some people have without the least foundation, and directly contrary to all the exemplars in fact, supposed that the Gothick style and order of architecture was brought from Palestine and Turkey by persons who served in the Crusadoes : it may be proper, and I am sure will be sufficient, to refer such to the Temple Churches, and to the Saracen or Moresco buildings in Venice, Spain, and even in many parts of England, all which are constructed with the circular arch. But the architecture of the buildings in Asia, Turkey, and Palestine, are of themselves a proof to the contrary.

Having thus entertained in my own mind this notion of the Gothick architecture : that the principle of it operated in the applying stone-work to the models and proportions of timber frame-work fabricks, which had long been held to be the *mos Teutonicus* : and that this *corporation of Italian masons*, though perhaps not the first who hazarded this bold attempt, for we have seen that Willielmus Senonensis, near a century prior to their institution, had designed it in the vaulting of the roof or cieling of the church of Canterbury, *yet they were the first architects who reduced it to, and introduced it as, a regular order* ; having shown from incontrovertible record that they were in England a corporation of architects and masons, instituted by a foreign power, and, from the privileges of their foreign incorporation, claiming exemption from the statutes of labourers ; and that this foreign jurisdiction, from which they derived and under which they claimed, was the Pope who created them by bull, diploma, or charter, about the close of the 12th or commencement of the 13th century ; I was very solicitous to have inquiry and search made amongst the archives at Rome, whether it was not possible to find the record of this curious trans-

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action

action and institution. The librarian of the Vatican was, in 1773, on my behalf applied to. He examined the archives deposited there; and after a long search said, "he could not find "the least traces of any such record." The head keeper of the archives, who has a very extensive knowledge in these matters, was next applied to, and his answer was the same. The Pope himself, in consequence of a conversation which the inquiries in my letter led to, interested himself in the inquiry; and with the utmost politeness ordered the most minute research to be made; but no discovery arose from it. I have inserted this, as I should have thought it illiberal, and an unfair state of the fact not to have mentioned it. I cannot, however, yet be persuaded, but that some record or copy of the diploma must be somewhere buried at Rome, amidst some forgotten and unknown bundles or rolls. We know that such things have in fact happened in many instances [g], and some the most important, with respect to our own records.

I could have drawn this letter into a long and particular detail of matters: yet as I do not mean to write a treatise, but only a letter of communication to you, and, if you think it may create an evening's amusement to our Society, as a communication submitted to their more accurate knowledge and judgment, I shall content myself with having thrown out my suggestions on the subject, and leave the rest to their or your improvement. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. POWNALL.

[g] With respect to writs for election of members of the House of Commons much earlier than the commonly supposed date of the existence of that House. With respect also to the *Form of Renouncing Allegiance* to a sovereign forfeiting his right to that allegiance.

SIR,

Bath, Jan. 27, 1788.

IN addition to and illustration of my letter on the subject of Gothic architecture, I beg leave to add some curious extracts from the Church Registers of Lincoln, sent to me in 1775, by the late John Bradley, Esq. They give the dates of the several *new works*, as all these later improvements were called, added since the first erection, from time to time, to the fabrick of the Church of Lincoln. These dates agree nearly with the dates of the *new works*, so also called, added to the Church of Ely.

I am, Sir, &c.

T. POWNALL.

*Copy of Mr. Bradley's Letter to Gov. Pownall.*

SIR,

IN the researches which, at your desire, I have made respecting the repairing or building of parts of the Cathedral, I have made some discoveries which differ from those accounts which have been given to the publick: they are mistaken as to the time when the *new work* was begun and finished. The late Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Lyttelton, conjectures that all was finished about 1283. Conjecturers are led into this mistake by supposing that the work was finished soon after King Henry III's Charter granted *for enlarging the Church and Close*. This was not so, as the following extracts will show.

1124. The Church was burnt down.

Bishop Alexander is, in the historical accounts given to the publick, said to have rebuilt it with an *arched roof*, for prevention of the like accidents. But John de Scalby,

Canon



1147. Canon of Lincoln, and Bishop Dalderby's Register, and Secretary, says of Robert de Chesney (who succeeded Alexander) that he—"Primus Ecclesiam Voltis lapideis  
"communivit."
1186. John de Scalby says of Hugh the Burgundian, Bishop of Lincoln, that he—"fabricam ecclesiæ a fundamentis  
"construxit novam." This can relate only to alterations and repairs of the old Church, for the new East-end was not begun to be built till 120 years after.
- 1244-5. The great tower fell down and greatly damaged the Church. Very little was done to repair this disaster till
1279. the time of Oliver Sutton, elected Bishop 1279. The first thing which he set about was extending the close-wall, but not so far to the East as it now is, for it was, as will be seen, still further enlarged; and he afterwards compleatly repaired, in concurrence with the Dean and Chapter, the old Church; so that the whole was finished,
1290. painted, and white washed, after the year 1290. When this work was done, the great Tower was carried up no higher than to the part where the large windows begin; and where the bells now hang. The upper part was with the other *new work* begun 16 years after.
1306. The Dean and Chapter contracted with Richard de Stow Mason, to attend to and employ other masons under him, for the *new work*; at which time the new additional East-end, as well as the upper parts of the great tower, and of the transepts, were done. He contracted to do the plain work by measure, and the fine carved work and images by the day.
1313. The Dean and Chapter carried the close still further Eastward, so as to enlarge the Canons houses and mansion,
- your

your old mansion, the chancellor and the other houses at the East end of the minster yard.

1321. In this year the *new work* was not finished, for Bishop Burchurth, finding that those who were entrusted to collect the money given by *voluntary contribution*, and legacies to the Church, detained the same, and were backward in their payments, published an Excommunication against all Offenders in this way which tended “ *in retardationem fabricæ.*”

1324. It may be collected, the whole was finished about 1324; but this no where specified.

N. B. This *new-work* is all of the *regular order* of Gothick architecture, as I have supposed it to be finally established by the free masons. The rest of the Church is in part the *Opus Romanum*; and partly of the style of the first essays of the Gothick.

1380. John Welburn was treasurer. He built the tabernacle at the high altar, the North and East parts as now standing, and the South was rebuilt after to make the North and South sides uniform. He was *master* of the fabrick; and the principal promoter of making the two stone arches under the West towers, and the vault of the high tower. And caused the statues of the Kings over the West great door to be placed there.

XII. *A Letter from the Hon. Daines Barrington to the Rev. Dr. Lort, on the Origin of the Arms belonging to the two Honourable Societies of the Inner and Middle Temple; the Pegasus and the Holy Lamb.*

Read Feb. 28, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

*Inner Temple, Feb. 28, 1788.*

THE question which you lately put to me with regard to the two societies of the Inner and Middle Temple having assumed so very different coats of arms, as the Pagan Pegasus, and the Holy Lamb, will occasion my troubling you with a rather long investigation of this matter, as well as some few observations on the origin and abolition of the Knights Templars.

The first Crusade took place in 1096. The several chieftains met at Constantinople (then capital of the Eastern Empire) in 1097; Antioch was surrendered to the Christian army in 1098, and Jerusalem in the following year.

After these successes, Godfrey of Boulogne might have been King of Palestine; but though he declined that honour, yet it was supposed that the Christians had made so firm an establishment in this part of Asia, that many Europeans immediately conceived they had no bad chance of bettering their fortunes in this newly-acquired territory, whilst they had at the same time an opportunity of visiting the holy city.

I have

I have before stated that Antioch was taken by the Crusaders in 1098, the port of which was the most convenient place for adventurers and pilgrims to be landed at, as Tyre was not then in the possession of the Christians. When they were here debarked however, they had 200 miles of barbarous country to pass, before they could reach Jerusalem; and hence arose the necessity of a constant guard to protect them during this journey of devotion, and a subsistence for them when arrived at this capital of the new Christian Empire.

This produced the only two religious orders which were established in the Holy Land, the first of which were the Hospitallers [a] in 1113, who undertook the accommodation of pilgrims at their *hospitium*, or *inn*, whilst they resided in Jerusalem. As many, however, were attacked by the Saracens in their journey from Antioch, the second order, that of Templars [b], took place in 1188, who professed escorting the pilgrims to their good quarters with the Knights Hospitallers.

As these two orders therefore from the purposes of their institution were so interesting to the Christian world, it naturally followed that they were richly endowed from every part of Europe; the consequence of which was, that they quarrelled, but were at last persuaded to accommodate their differences by powerful mediation.

The Templars originally styled themselves "*Pauperes commilitones Christi et Templi Salomonis*," and consisted at first of only nine; the two principal of which were so poor [c], that they were obliged to ride both on one horse, which was moreover fixed upon as a proper device for their seal.

[a] Afterwards Knights of Rhodes, and now of Malta.

[b] So called because they built their monastery near the porch where the old Temple of Solomon was supposed to have stood.

[c] Hugo de Paganis and Godefridus de Sancto Odemaro. Matthew Paris.

Their numbers however and riches soon increasing, and particularly in England [d], they were enabled to build in 1185, the West part of the Temple Church, which remains still entire, and may be deemed a handsome fabric. They probably had also the custody of the King's treasure; as King John drew upon them for 20,000 marks, and the *Masters of the Temple* [e] both in England and France were answerable for the produce of their revenues; whilst they had a Patriarch likewise in both countries [f], to take care of their concerns, besides another who was resident at Jerusalem.

In the midst of this prosperity they seem to have abandoned their original device of *two armed Knights riding on one horse*, as reminding them of their original poverty, in favour of another, which they probably deemed more honourable, as will be mentioned hereafter.

It is well known that the Templars were abolished during the reign of Edward II. whether justly or not is not for me to discuss at present; it seems indeed to have been intended [g] by the Kings of Europe to have taken possession of all their estates, but the council of Vienna would not permit these designs to take

[d] Both Henry II. and his Queen Eleanor direct their bodies to be buried in the Temple Church. Dugd. Monast. Henry II. left by his will 500 marks to the Templars (see Rymer's Fœd.) and Henry III. was educated in the Temple by direction of the Earl of Pembroke. Petyt MSS. Inn. Temple Library.

[e] This officer was so general in the different parts of Europe, that he was stiled in the Eastern Empire, *τεμπλῆς μαιστῶρ*. See Du Fresne's Glossary of the Lower Greek; *Bonorum Militiæ Templi in Franciâ Magnus Magister*. There was a *Temple* also in Paris. See Saint Foix's *Essais sur les rues de Paris*.

[f] The Bishop of Durham was so in the time of Edward II. Rymer's Fœd.

[g] See a letter from Edward II. to his father-in-law Phillip de Bel, in the first year of his reign. Rymer's Fœd.

place, by directing that they should be given to the rival order of the Hospitallers.

This took effect in England by the Statute of 17 Ed. II. the consequence of which was, that in the following reign the Hospitallers granted the site of the present Temple to certain professors of the common law, which had now become a regular study, as appears by the year-books stating the decisions of every term during the reigns of Edward II. and his successor [b].

What before this grant or lease was called the *Temple*, was situated in Holborn, and possibly extended to St. John's street, Clerkenwell, so named from its belonging to the Hospitallers [i]. On procuring this better situation the lawyers removed to the present Temple [k], which was originally divided into three, viz. *Inner*, *Middle*, and *Outer Temple*, each of these being thus termed from their position with regard to Temple Bar, the Western boundary of the City.

What went by the name of the *Outer Temple* consisted probably of lodgings for the servants of the society, or perhaps an extraordinary influx of students, for we have no account of any proceedings in this inn of court. It was situated in Essex street, and to the Westward, which site was first purchased by a Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards by the Earl of Essex.

As for the other Temples, the *Inner* and *Middle*, they continue to be seminaries for the study of the common law, but

[b] Except from the 10th to the 17th of Edward III. which chasm however may be supplied from a MS. in the Library of the Inner Temple.

[i] Styled Hospitallers of *St. John*.

[k] Thence called the *New Temple*. See Petyt MS. N<sup>o</sup> 17. p. 5, shelf 5.—A grant of the office of Master of the Temple so late as 5 Eliz. styles him Magister, five Custos, *Novi Templi*. Rymer's Fœd. in anno.

were not divided as at present in the time of the poet Chaucer, (who was himself a member of the former) [l], as appears by the following lines :

“ A manciple there was of the Temple,  
“ Of which all catours might taken ensemple.”

Where in the first verse *Temple* is not only used in the singular, but must necessarily be so, in order to rhyme to the termination of the second, *ensemple*.

Sir George Buc (in his *Universities of London* [m]) is of opinion, that this division took place in the reign of Henry VI. which agrees with a MS. in the Library of the Inner Temple [n], and is confirmed by Fortescue in his Treatise “*de Laudibus legum Angliæ*,” written about that period of time. At least he states that these were then *four* principal inns of court, which is exactly the number at present if the two Temples are included; but if they are considered as making only one society, the number would be only three. Was it not for this authority of Fortescue, there seems to be presumptive proof that the two societies continued to be united till the reign of Henry VII. as in Dugdale’s *Origines* no distinct officers are to be found till the 17th year of that reign.

The separation (whenever it took place) probably arose from the two Societies becoming so numerous, that it was necessary they should be divided; for Fortescue informs us, that there were 200 students in each of the four principal inns of court, during the reign of Henry VI. who could not be maintained under £.28 per annū, even if they did not keep a servant, which seems to have been a necessary part of their establishment.

[l] See Dugdale’s *Origines Jurid.*

[m] Commonly subjoined to Stowe’s *Chronicle*.

[n] Before referred to.

They had also masters for music and dancing, which expensive education might well astonish us, was it not recollected that the two Universities were then chiefly seminaries for ecclesiastics, that the sons of gentlemen had no opportunities of becoming officers either in the royal fleet or army, nor do they seem to have taken to the line of church preferment.

The Inner Temple stands upon a much larger site than the Middle, and contains nearly 100 sets of chambers more than the sister society. Whether from this or what other reason does not appear, but in the 5th year of Queen Elizabeth the former assumed arms and a seal [o] by the suggestion of Master Gerard Leigh, an herald of that time, who was a member of this inn of court. The device was, "A Pegasus, Luna, on a field, Argent [p]."

None of the Inns of court are corporations, and therefore the College of Heralds might have perhaps disputed their fixing upon any arms without their intervention: the societies of the law, however, had been so long established, and upon so liberal a footing, that the herald Master Leigh emblazoned their device by *precious stones and planets* [q], as being truly *honourable* societies, according to their present style.

At the same time that Leigh suggested these rather singular arms to the Inner Temple, he proposed them as signifying that the knowledge acquired at this learned seminary would raise the professors of the law to the greatest honours, adding by way of motto,

"Volat ad æthera virtus."

[o] The seal is affixed by the Treasurer of the Society to certificates chiefly of Members having been called to the bar, which are sometimes wanted by those who practise the law out of the four seas.

[p] See Petyt MS. before cited.

[q] Thus Gwillim emblazons the arms of Sir Edward Coke in the same manner, from the great respect which he says the chief justice deserved.



Nor did he decline alluding to their progress in what are generally esteemed more liberal sciences, and therefore thought that Pegasus forming the fountain of Hippocrene by striking his hoof against a rock, was a proper emblem of the lawyers even becoming poets [r].

Here it may not be improper to observe, that the two fathers of English poetry, Chaucer and Gower, were both of the Inner Temple. Nor should it be forgot that this inn of court employed Sir James Thornhill (in Queen Ann's time) to decorate the East end of their hall with Pegasus forming the fountain of Hippocrene, while the Muses attend, and Mercury shews Pegasus the way to Heaven, in allusion to the before mentioned,

“Volat ad æthera virtus.”

Garth indeed seems to think that the lawyers assumed too much by this connexion with the Muses, when he says,

“Sooner shall glow-worms vie with Titan's beams,

“Or Hare-court pump with Aganippe's streams [s].

To explain which last line, it is necessary to observe, that Hare-court is in the Inner Temple, and the pump there not failing in summer as most of the others do, it is chiefly resorted to by the inhabitants for water.

Garth however having probably seen this painting of Sir James Thornhill in the Inner Temple Hall [t], by which the lawyers seem to conceive that the feminary might produce poets, was determined to aim a stroke at them, for alluding to such pretensions.

[r] “And surely the coat armour was at first appropriated to the noble Society by reason of their affinity to the Muses, and the springs of Hippocrene and Aganippe arising from Pegasus's foot.” Petyt MS. before cited.

[s] Dispensary.

[t] It is perhaps the best painting we have of the master.

Having

Having now stated the time and reason of the Inner Temple's having assumed the Pegasus for their arms, I shall proceed to do the same with regard to the sister society of the Middle Temple.

Sir George Buc, who was himself of this house, and professes the greatest veneration for it, informs us that the Inner Temple having pitched upon the Pegasus in the 5th year of Queen Elizabeth, he proposes more than 50 years afterwards (in 1615) two devices [u] for the Middle Temple, who at that time had neither arms, nor seal.

These devices were either, “*two armed knights riding upon one horse,—or, a field Argent, charged with a cross Gules, and upon the nombril thereof a Holy Lamb.*”

The first of these hath been already stated to be the original arms of the Knights Templars [x], and the second, what they afterwards seem to have assumed, when their revenues became so much more considerable than they were at the outset. Sir George Buc's authority for this is an illuminated MS. belonging to the Lord William Howard of Naworth, which contained the statutes of the order [y].

[u] Sir George was Master of the Revels, and appears to have been well versed in blazonry, living much with the heralds of the time and particularly Camden. His Life of Richard III. is well known.

[x] See Matthew Paris, in additions.

[y] I can find no other account of these second arms having been assumed by the Knights Templars but in this illuminated MS. I conceive however that the Holy Lamb over the Middle Temple gate is not properly represented, as there is no *nimbus* to encircle it. That this is necessary, see Guillim's Heraldry and Prince's Devon, art. Rowe, it being a representation of Christ.

\* \* \* The Holy Lamb with its nimbus and banner appears as the seal of a deed dated 1273, whereby Guido de Foresta magister militiæ Templi in Anglia & fratres ejusdem militiæ leased out certain lands in Pampesworth, c. Camb. the rent to be paid *domino Templi* in Duxworth in the same county, in which last parish is still a manor called *Temple* manor. Round this seal is ✠ SIGILLVM TEMPLI. Blomefield's MS. Collections for Cambridgeshire penes R. G.

As

As the Middle Temple therefore fixed upon these latter arms of the Knights Templars, it is clear they must have done so after Sir George Buc's publication in 1615, and consequently at least 53 years after the Inner Temple had assumed the Pegasus [z]. How soon indeed this suggestion of Sir George Buc was adopted, I cannot find with any accuracy, but Dugdale in his *Origines Juridiciales* (published in 1671) hath ascribed these arms to the Middle Temple.

There were formerly warm disputes between the two societies with regard to antiquity and precedence, which in the last century were carried so far, as to the priority of receiving the sacrament from the Master of the Temple; and even so late as in 1736 both inns of court, upon a general call of serjeants, claimed the honour of walking *last* in the procession, which being referred to the Lord Chancellor and two chief justices, was determined in favour of the Inner Temple (at least upon that occasion) without prejudice to what might be further urged on the part of the Middle Temple.

Soon after this reference, Mr. Dowman, then under-treasurer of that society, drew up an account relative to their usages and privileges, which dwells much upon the proof arising from the Middle Temple having pitched upon the arms of the Knights Templars, from whence is inferred their superior antiquity. It appears, however, from what I have before stated, that the Holy Lamb, &c. was merely assumed from the suggestion of Sir George Buc in 1615, and consequently 53 years at least

[z] It should seem from Sir George Buc likewise that Grays Inn had pitched upon their arms a little before 1615, and that Lincoln's Inn intended to retain the arms of the Earl of Lincoln, though Sir James Lea had proposed another device. I conclude from this, that the Treasurer's seal to certificates of admissions to the bar began to be wanted in the four great Inns of court, the Inner Temple having by many years taken the lead.

after the Inner Temple had fixed upon the Pegasus. At that time indeed, both, the two armed knights riding on one horse and the Holy Lamb were open to them, but the Inner Temple either did not know that these were the devices of the Knights Templars, who had been so long abolished, or rather perhaps chose the Pegasus, as being significant of the honours which would follow a diligent study of the common law.

If other proofs were wanting of the precedence of the Inner Temple, the two following might perhaps be relied upon; the Inner Temple being first named in all instruments which relate to their mutual concerns, and the South side of the Church being allotted to them, which seems to be the more dignified part, as to the best of my recollection the Bishop's throne is so placed in Cathedrals. Upon the entrance into a church also the South side is to the right hand.

From the great good sense which prevails at present in relation to such trifling matters of dispute, as well as the perfect harmony which now subsists between the two societies, I am confident that the liberty I have thus taken to shew that the Inner Temple hath always been the more considerable inn of court, will not give offence to the other very learned and respectable society.

Believe me, Dear Sir,

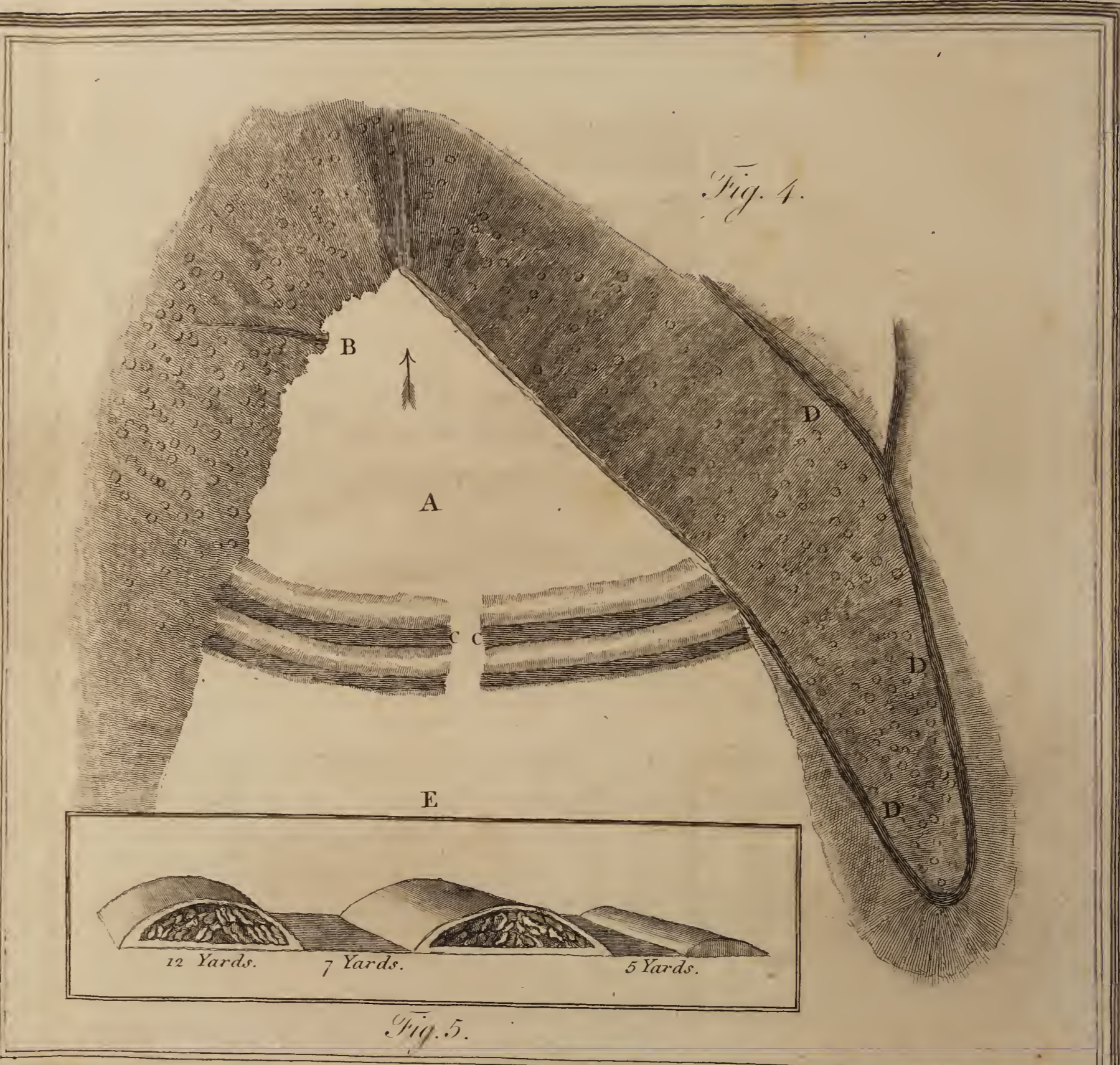
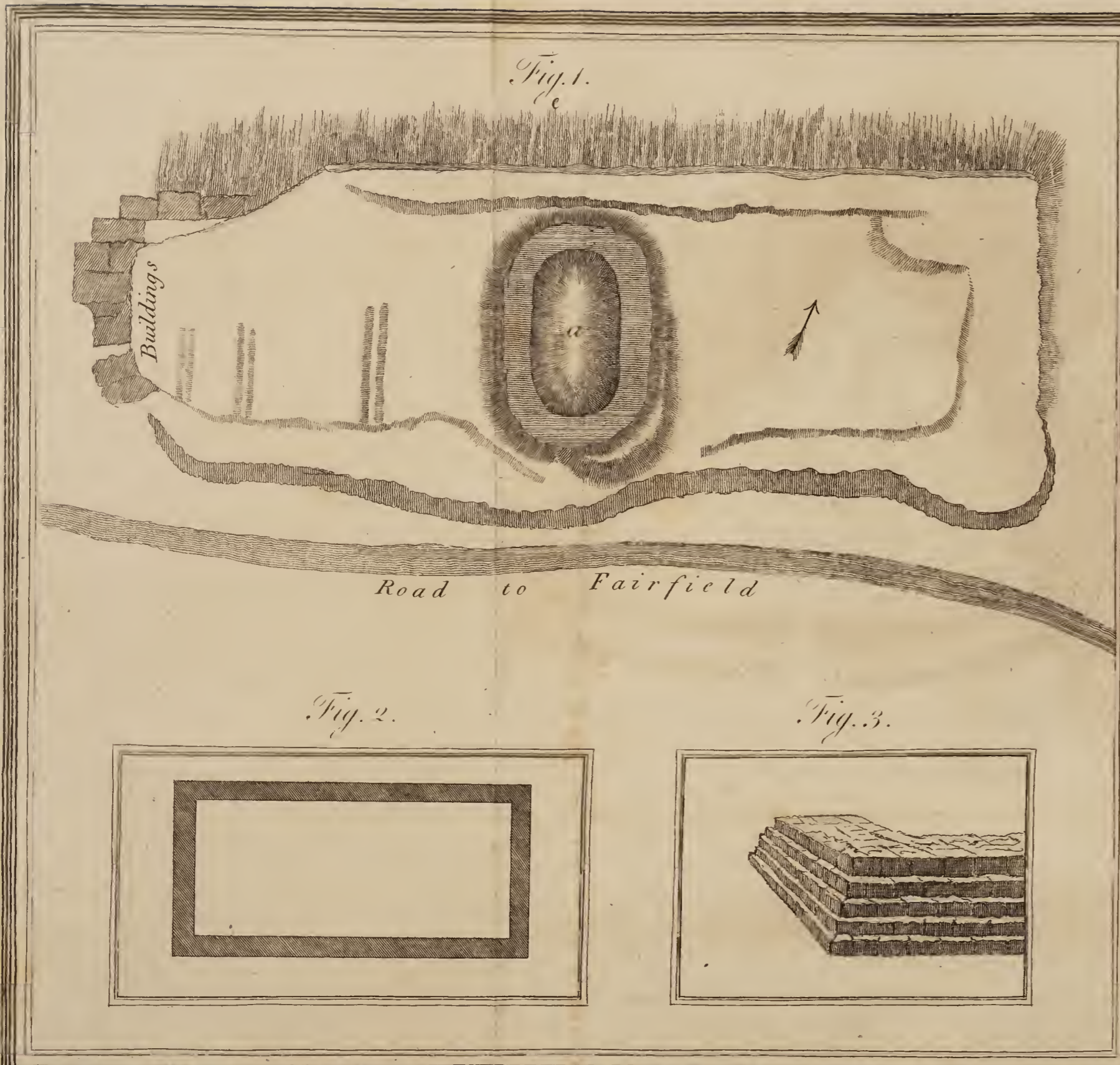
Your most faithful,

Humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

P. S. How the Pegasus became an ornament to Bishop Latimer's pulpit I am totally at a loss to form any conjecture. A pulpit so decorated might indeed have been very proper for a *reader* of the Inner Temple.





H. Rooke del.

Plan of some Roman works near Burton.

Plan of a Roman Camp near Burton.

Basire sc.

XIII. *Account of a Roman Building and Camp lately discovered at Buxton, in the County of Derby. In a Letter from Major Rooke to the Bishop of Carlisle, V. P.*

Read March 6, 1788.

MY LORD,

Woodhouse, Feb. 23, 1788.

I take the liberty of sending your lordship a short account of a little Roman building, the foundation of which I discovered last September at Buxton; with a plan and description of a Roman Camp. I am, very sincerely,

Your Lordship's

most affectionate,

and obliged, humble servant,

H. R O O K E.

On the hill facing the Crescent little banks of earth have been thrown up; but as no regular form can now be made out, it is impossible to say for what purpose they were intended. See the plan, Pl. vi. No. 1. In the centre at (a) was an oblong tumulus inclosed with a ditch and vallum; the ditch 3 yards wide; the vallum was not of equal height in every part. On opening

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this

this tumulus at the top, we found one foot of earth, which covered a body of stiff blue clay of about four feet, and which appeared to have been rammed in. Close to the ditch we discovered a strong wall made without mortar, inclosing an oblong square 46 feet by 22 feet 6 inches. See plan, N<sup>o</sup> 2. The construction of this wall is similar to that of the large room, or kitchen, in the *villa urbana* near Mansfield Woodhouse. From the foundation, on the outside only, were four off-sets; the inside of the wall was rough and irregular; which are proofs of its having been built against the above mentioned body of clay. See the construction of the wall N<sup>o</sup> 3. The superstructure seems to have been built with large well-dressed stones; as those now appear to be which are above the off-sets. Nothing was found in clearing out the clay but two or three nails, a fragment of a *patera*, and a piece of tile with the sides raised, exactly of the same kind as those found in the Roman villa here.

If I might venture to give my opinion of this building, I should imagine from its shape and situation, it might have been a temple; probably dedicated to Apollo; one of whose attributes was healing. It is very natural to suppose, after the Romans had found the salutary effects of the warm spring, (which they held sacred) that they would erect a temple to some presiding deity. No situation could be better chosen for that purpose. The view is very extensive, and the hill, from this temple, slopes down at (e) about four score yards, in a direct line to St. Ann's well; near to which were found, a few years ago, the pavement of a Roman Bath, and other antiquities. The Rev. Mr. Pegge, in his perambulation of the lesser Roman roads in the county of Derby, called the Bath way [a], traces

[a] Roman roads through the Coritani, p. 10.



one to Buxton from Brough, which was undoubtedly a Roman station, and where antiquities have been found. He mentions his having seen a rude bust of Apollo, and of another deity, in stone, that had been found in the fields there. This Roman road comes by Fairfield to Buxton, where it ends; and I was told by some old men there, that it came to the hill above mentioned, and there finished. Whilst the Romans frequented these baths, it is natural to suppose that they would take possession of the heights and strong posts in the neighbourhood. Accordingly we find an exploratory camp on a high moor, called *Combes Moss*, about four miles from Buxton; which is seen from the hill where the temple stood. As this Roman work (which is called *Castle dikes* [b]) has never, I believe, hitherto, been taken notice of, I have given a plan of it at (A). Pl. VI. fig. 4. The South side, which is on a level with the moor, is strongly secured by a double ditch and *vallum*: here the entrance appears to have been. The East and West sides are inaccessible from a rocky declivity, which on the West side goes down to a brook from whence the camp was supplied with water, as appears by a passage cut through some rocks at (B). Length of the South end 163 yards. The East side, where there is now a well, is about 162 yards; width of the inner ditch (C) 7 yards; and of the outward ditch 5 yards. (D) is a hollow way which goes winding to the camp with an easy ascent. The construction of the *vallum* (see the section E. fig. 5.) is different from any I have ever seen; being formed of long stones placed diagonally, so as to press inward towards the centre, and then covered with earth: the base of the *vallum* is 12 yards.

[b] Doctor Stukeley mentions a Roman Camp called *Castle dikes* in Northamptonshire. *Itinerarium Curiosum*, I. p. 114.

I had not time to examine the roads near this post, but that from Buxton to the camp is through Fairfield; where, most probably, the Roman road from the camp joined that to Brough.

I must here beg leave to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Heaton, not only for his information of these Roman works near the Crescent, but for his politeness in reserving them for my inspection; the ground being intended to be planted and laid out in walks to compleat those elegant improvements, of public utility, carrying on by his Grace the Duke of Devonshire.

XIV. *Observations on Ancient Painting in England.*  
*In a Letter from Gov. Pownall, to the Rev. Michael*  
*Lort, D. D. V. P. A. S.*

Read March 6 and 13, and April 3, 1788.

SIR,

*Bath, Jan. 28, 1788.*

AS I send you inclosed a drawing of some of the figures in the painted ceiling of the Cathedral of Peterborough, which I sketched out, I will accompany my description of this ceiling with some observations on the Art of Painting, as practised in early times of England.

Those who have written on the history of painting, date the æra of its present existence about the middle of the 13th century. That the spirit of it, as a patronised art in the Western parts of Europe, may have received its origin from the genius of *Giovanni Cimabue* is a truth which is due to his merit: but if it be understood, as it is commonly told, it is a fable, instead of a fact in the history of man. Although the inundation of barbarism, in the latter ages of the Roman Empire, bore down before it, and overwhelmed every trace of cultured science and the arts; although the iron hand of war, and the heavier iron rod of government

ernment, wherever it settled, kept down oppressed every spring of genius; yet this was not universally the case either in time or place. Science, such as it was, and even the arts to a certain degree, flourished in the Eastern Empire. When that was destroyed, the exiled professors of them became the means and instruments of reviving them in the West. But even before this time, learning, and some arts, though palsied, yet held on a kind of dormant existence amidst the cloysters of the religionists. The arts although neither understood, sought after, nor employed in the world; yet made efforts of a kind of agency in the amusements and idle exertions of those who were separated from it. There were amongst the clergy, at all times, some genuine and original geniuses, who from their studies and labours derived upon human life both use and ornament. They exercised and taught in their missions; amongst the then rude inhabitants of these northern parts, the modes of agriculture; they were mechanicks, architects, and painters: they were musicians, and were employed as such in teaching and conducting the religious choirs; they designed, superintended, and often executed the architecture of their religious edifices: and were employed in painting and ornamenting them. Hence it must of course arrive, that some original genius would now and then arise, who in these arts (whose merit lies in their originality) went beyond the deformity of them.

There is nothing in painting that the genius of one man, in the course of his single life, may not carry far towards the point of perfection, sooner than in any other art known in the world. I believe that in the history of man the fact is, that more eminent masters have shone forth as excellent in this art, from the originality of their own genius, working by the learning of their own study, and on their own experiments, than have been  
trained

trained up by mechanical discipline and as *scholars* of a master. I might produce many early instances, but I will content myself with giving one illustrious example in a period three hundred years prior to that which is fixed as the revival of the art of painting. St. Dunstan lived in the tenth century, and of him I read, that he was not only a great proficient and performer in music; but that he was a master in drawing, and that he *engraved* and took impressions from gold, silver, brass, and iron; that he practised *something like printing*. “Erat ita naturaliter  
 “*præditus ingenio, ut facilè quamlibet rem acutissimè intelligeret,*  
 “*firmissimè retineret, & quamvis aliis artibus magnificè polle-*  
 “*ret, musicam tamen speciali quâdam affectione vendicabat,*  
 “*sicut David, psalterium sumens, citheram percutiens, modu-*  
 “*lans organa, cimbala tangens. Præterea manu aptus ad om-*  
 “*nia, facere potuit picturam, litteras formare, scalpello imprimere*  
 “*ex auro, argento, ære, & ferro [a].”*

As you have in this genius an example of an artist; so if we look for exemplars of the arts, we find that in the eleventh century the wainscot ceilings of our public buildings were ornamented with gilding and paintings. Stubbs in his “*Actus Pontificum Eboracensium,*” speaking of the magnificent works of the Saxon archbishop Aldred, who filled the see of York at the time of the Conquest, says, “*totam ecclesiam a presbyterio usque ad turrim, ab antecessore suo Kinsio constructam, superius opere pictorio, quod cælum vocant, auro multiformiter intermixto, mirabili arte construxit.*” The *Chronica Gervasii*, giving an account of the burning of the old Cathedral at Canterbury, built by Lanfranc, mention the *cælum egregiè de-*

[a] Gervasius de St. Dunstano.

*pietum*, and afterwards comparing it with the new one, says of the old - “*ibi cælum ligneum egregiâ picturâ decoratum.*”

Before I proceed more particularly to describe the cieling, which is the more immediate object of this letter, it will not be improper to explain some of the mechanic parts of the art, as practised here in England before that period to which the discovery of the art of painting in oil is ascribed. In doing this, I shall transcribe a quotation from the Hon. Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, as I shall be able to explain it from an examination of some old painting made under my own eyes.

“*Quia autem metuebant ne muri scissuris dissinderentur, hinc eosdem linteo, prius glutine mediante, induxerunt, de superque applicito gypso, postmodo demum picturas suas effigurarunt, qui modus dici solet alla tempora, id est, temperaturæ aquariæ. Hanc autem temperaturam ita præparabant: effracto prius ovo gallinaceo, in ejusdem liquore frondem teneram ficulneam de ficu juniore discutiebant: ubi è lacte istius frondis, eque vitello illa nascebatur temperatura: quâ mediante postmodum, loco aquæ vel gummi vel dragacanthæ, colores suos subigebant, quibus dehinc opera sua perficerent [b].*”

“I shall be told perhaps that this method was only used for painting on walls, but leaving out the plaister, I see nothing to hinder the same preparation from being used on board. Of what mixture Cimabue, the restorer of the art, made use, we are told by the same author, “*Multæque illius manu confectæ non historiæ minus quam imagines, in tabulis ligneis, colore ovis vel glutine temperato.*”

[b] Sandrart Acciden Pict. p. 15, as quoted by Mr. Walpole.

The very old painting in Westminster Abbey which now (as a mere refuse bit of old board) forms the top of the case, wherein the wooden stuffed images of our ancient Kings (vulgarly called the *ragged regiment*) are kept, is of this kind. Mr. Patoun (whose name only to mention is sufficient when I am speaking of the science of colours) and myself examined this very ancient specimen. It is painted on a piece of pannelled wainscoting, in different compartments. The painting in some of the compartments is covered with glass or talc, in other compartments coloured glass is laid over a foil to carry the appearance of precious stones, or at least of the fine marbles. The paintings that were so covered we did not disturb, they appeared to be miniatures of too much merit to be so destroyed. Those which were not so guarded we did examine. They bore a pretty strong rubbing with a wet handkerchief. I pickt off some of the plaister, which was cracked, with the point of a knife; it crumbled betwixt my fingers like chalk: under this a coat of parchment was glued upon the board of a pannel. I had before examined the painting which forms the canopy of the monument of King Richard the Second. I found the painting on this to be of the same composition, that is to say painted on some compost of plaister laid on a pasteboard or parchment glued to the wainscot, and painted with some temperance, which bore unimpaired the washing with a wet handkerchief.

Since writing the above, I was informed by the late Sir Joseph Aylofffe that there were in the Abbey other specimens of ancient painting on board, some whole-length figures on the pannels of the tabernacles of an old monument standing on the South side of the altar, covered then with tapestry. I wished previous to the making this publick, that I could have an opportunity of examining these. This spring, 1775, the tapestry which covered

this monument being now taken down, for the repairing and beautifying the choir, the Bishop of Rochester very obligingly invited me to an examination and survey of this monument. The painting we found to have been done on a thin coating of plaister laid on board, but without any *fond* of parchment. The painting stood firm against any washing with plain water. The Bishop proposed a trial with vinegar. The moment it was touched with vinegar the plaister dissolved, and the painting washed away. Mr. Basire was employed to make a drawing for the Society, which has since been engraved in their “*Monumenta Vetusta* ;” and Sir Joseph Ayloffe has given the publick an account of this old monument.

The cieling of the Cathedral of Peterborough is said to have been done at the time that the nave of the church was built, that is, at a period between 1177 and 1199. It is of wainscot formed into three main compartments, running the whole length of the nave ; a principal one along the middle, two lesser ones on each side. Each compartment is framed into panes and pannels in the form of lozenges and half lozenges. The fillets, mouldings, and rosetts, are gilt ; a fretted antique runs round the pannels as a bordure, and on the naked wood within this are the figures painted.

Beginning from the East end of the nave, and proceeding to the West, there is in the first pane or pannel a coat of arms ; the bearing three otters and fish. The coat of arms of three otters without the fish is at this time borne by the *Lutterells* ; it has allusion under the word *Loutre* to their name. This family came over with William of Normandy ; and was at the Conquest, or soon after, settled in these Eastern fenny parts of our Island, and at Irnham in Lincolnshire. Their descendents were perhaps benefactors to the Abbey.





Fig. 1.

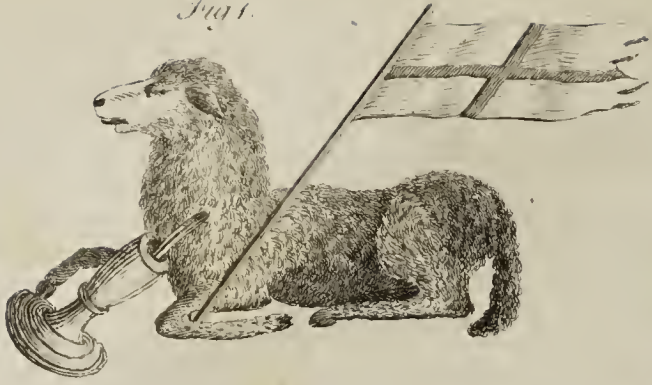


Fig. 2.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 4.



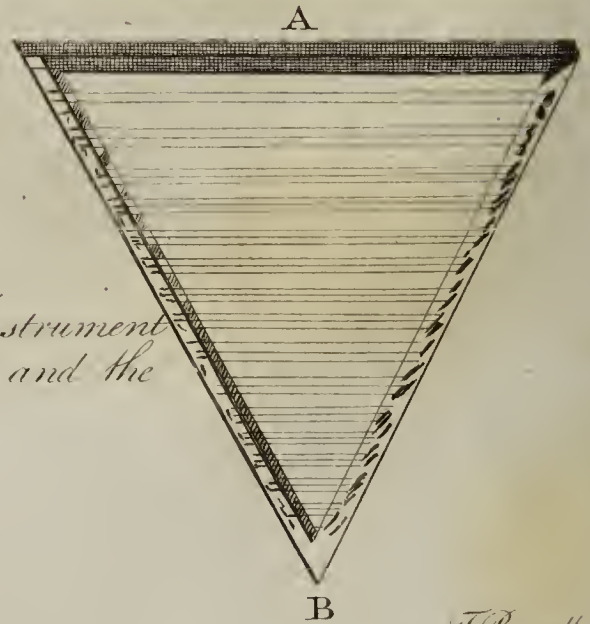
Fig. 7.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 5.



The figure playing on the Dulcimar has *y* Instrument lying on her Lap, with the Side *A* next her, and the Angle *B* towards her Knees.



Fig. 6.

The second pane has, painted on it, a bad draught of the busto of Janus.

The third, a grotesque fancy figure.

The fourth, the lamb triumphant in death, bleeding into the holy chalice; an emblem of the Sacrament of the passion. I have annexed a drawing of this, Pl. VII. fig. 1.

In the fifth pane is exhibited the figure of St. Peter.

In the sixth one views an emblematic figure, characterising the degeneracy and pride of the nobility, carried in full career by lust, in a situation of infamy. This is exhibited by a monkey, the emblem of the human species degenerate, carrying on his paw an owl, in ridicule of the foolish pride of the nobility carrying on their fist a hawk as a mark of the privilege of nobility. This caricatura is riding on a goat. The goat, which is the emblem of lust, is running in full career, while the rider sits with his face to the tail, the known settled position of infamy.

Figure 2 in the annexed plate is a sketch of it.

In the pane or pannel next to this is the portrait of St. Paul.

The eighth gives the portrait of a nobleman wearing a coronet.

The ninth bears the portrait of a mitred figure.

The tenth a female figure crowned.

The eleventh a mitred figure, and so on to the eighteenth inclusive, crowned and mitred figures alternately. These were, I suppose, compliments to the patrons of, and benefactors to, the work.

The nineteenth pane or pannel has painted on it the figure of an eagle.

The 20th pannel bears a singular emblematic figure, of which a sketch is annexed (fig. 3). The figure is a woman riding in a self-moved cart. As Janus at the East end of the cieling may

be supposed to have reference to the commencement of the year, so this figure may be meant to represent the harvest dame, holding the harvest moon in her hand. I observed a peculiarity, that the hand of the woman which carries the moon is muffled in the drapery, the other hand and arm is bare.

The pannels in the two side-compartments contain a strange mixture of figures, viz. singers, minstrels, angels, and caricaturas. In the hands of the minstrels one observes several representations of the viol (fig. 4.) as used at this day in many parts of Europe; of the violin in a form nearly the same as used at present; of the dulcimer (fig. 5.) This figure playing on the instrument has it lying on her lap with the side A next to her, and the angle B towards her knees.

Other figures are playing on the mandoline; others on the guitar. I have given a sketch of one of these (fig. 6.)

When I had learnt, as you will see below, that this ceiling had been in modern days repainted in oil, I suspended my opinion as to the precision of the forms of the musical instruments, lest they should have been modernized. I compared the draughts which I had made of them, with the forms of the musical instruments, which are in the hands of figures sculptured in *alto relievo* in the tympana of the arches of the choir of angels, as the East end of Lincoln Cathedral has been called. Finding them to be the same exactly, I have ventured to give them as the instruments of that day.

In one of the pannels there is painted the *Asinus ad Lyram*. See the Plate (fig. 7.). In another there is an admirable caricatura of a musician, what the vulgar of this day would call *Nofey*, playing on a violin (fig. 8.) In another of the side-pannels there is the figure of a woman riding in a four-wheeled waggon.

waggon. Nothing particular in this figure struck me, so I did not copy it.

When I first viewed, and, on examination of this cieling, copied as above some of the figures, I could not but observe the difference between the spirit of the drawing, and the wretched daubing of the colouring. I saw the strokes of genius in the one; and a total defect not only of the art of colouring, but of the knowledge of the disposition of light and shade in most of the paintings. I did not then know a circumstance of which the Bishop of Peterborough upon my application to him, was so good to inform me from a particular inquiry which he made on the occasion (Aug. 1773). “He heard that the man, who  
“about thirty years ago was employed to repair the cieling,  
“was still living. He sent for him, and learnt from him that the  
“whole was repainted in oil. He told his lordship that several  
“of the figures were intirely encrusted with dirt, but that upon  
“applying a sponge they became clear and bright, whence he  
“concludes that the last coat was of oil. He was altogether  
“of the same opinion with what I had suggested, that the body of  
“the painting (under what he supposed to be the coat of oil) was  
“in distemper: parts came clear off from the wainscot. He  
“assured his Lordship that he only retraced the figures, except  
“in one instance the third or fourth compartment from the  
“West door, where the whole figure peeled off: in this single  
“instance he followed his own fancy, having nothing else to  
“trust to, and even here he endeavoured to imitate the style  
“of the rest. The Bishop said, he has no doubt of his veracity.”  
What this painter supposed to be a coating of oil because it resisted the sponge, I must suppose to have been a varnish. Both size and other varnishes were known in the 12th century. But the discovery of an oil varnish, or *the drying oils used in limning.*

*limning* was not, I believe, as yet brought forward. There are varnishes which will glaze over water-colours, without disturbing them. I have such. From this circumstance of painting, worked in water-colours and size, or rather varnish, resisting the operation of scouring, some ingenious and learned men are induced to conclude that what have been supposed to be size or water-colours, may really have been painted in oil, or at least glazed with an oil-varnish, known in England before the discovery made by Van-Eyck was introduced into this country.

That the tempering colours with oil must have been known in the most distant ages back is clear from the painting with which ships were painted. Nothing but such a temperament could stand the wash and wear of the sea: and the fact that oil was used for tempering the colours used in that branch of painting called *house-painting*, I am able to ascertain by two uncontrollable testimonies. The first is for the first time brought forward to the publick by the Rev. Mr. Bentham of Ely. He had once told me the accounts of the expences of building the dome (called the *new work*) of the Cathedral of Ely were still existing amongst the archives of the church. I begged him to examine whether there were any articles relative to the painting, and more particularly as to oil and varnish. The articles which follow, and which establish a fact not before authentically known, the world is (1773) obliged to this industrious, accurate, and learned antiquary for. I shall give them in the form as he sent them to me. They contain many other curious particulars, as to the materials used, viz. the article of canvas and parchment; glue, or size, made of cuttings of leather; varnish; two sorts of gold leaf; as well as the main article of oil for tempering the colours.

Excerpta

Excerpta quædam è Rotulis Comput. de Expensis & Receptis Sacristæ Eliensis, in Archivis Ecclesiæ Eliensis manentibus 1773.

In the Roll containing the Sacrist's annual expences from (1325, 16 Ed. II.) Michaelmas to Michaelmas following, is the charge under the title of *Custos novi operis*, & minut. res pro novo opere, viz. in 3 lagenis & dimid. *Olei* pro ymaginibus super columnas depingend. 3s. 6d.

In the Sacrist's annual Roll of expences about the church from Michaelmas 8 Ed. III. (A. D. 1335.) to Michaelmas following, whilst the dome and lanthorn were in building, are these charges made under the general title of "*Custos novi Operis*," and particular title of *Nova Pictura*.

"In 80 liß. rubei plumbi empt. pro Volta novi Campanilis depingend. una cum 20 liß. rubei plumbi empt. pro eodem, 16s. 8d. Item, in 18 liß. rubei plumbi pro eodem, 3s. 9d. prec. liß. 2d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . In 20 liß. de *Vernyz*, emp. pro eodem, 5s. prec. lib. 3d. Item, in 3 liß. de gold colour emp. ad idem, 2s. 2d.—Summa 27s. 7d."

In the Sacrist's annual roll of expences about the church from Michaelmas, 10 Ed. III. (1336) to Michaelmas 1337, under the title of "*Custos Novi Operis, & Nova Pictura*," viz. In 2 liß. de Vermilion, empt. 29d. Item, in  $2\frac{1}{2}$  liß. de Verdigréz emp. 2s. 5d. In  $\frac{XX}{7}$  [c] 4 liß. albi plumbi empt. de Thoma de Bongeye 14s 4d. prec. liß. 1  $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

Item,  $\frac{XX}{7}$  4 liß. albi plumbi emp. de eodem, 12s. prec. 1d. In 13 lagenis *Olei* empt. de Thoma d' Elm 10s. 3  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. prec. lagen. 10d. ob. In 6 lagenis *Olei* emp. de Thoma de Cheyk, 4s. 11d. prec. lag. 10d.

[c] Seven scores

In 28 lagen. & dimid. *Olei* empt. de Nich de Wickam, 26s. 1d.ob: prec. lagen, 11d. In dimid. lagen. *Olei* emp. 3d. In vas terren. pro *oleo* imponend. 4d. quad.

In 1 longa corda emp. pro le chapital deaurand. et columpn. depingend. 8d. Item, solut. Nicholao Pictori pro volta nova dealband. in parte per 3 septimanas ad tasc. 3s. 6d.

Item, cuidam Pictori pro eodem 3 septimanas ad mensam domini 21d. In 6 cent. & 1 quarter, fol. argent. empt. de Radulpho de Golbeter 4s. 2d. prec. per cent. 8d. Item, solut. pro fol. auri fabricand. de florent. domini 16s. in cavenas & parcamen. empt. pro mold. 9d. Item, solut. pro Magro. Will. Schank pro dictis voltis depingend. cum le chapital & le bociz deaurand. ex conventionone, £.10.

Summa, £.14. 19s. 2d.

In the same roll is this article under the title "Minut. res. " Item, dat. Johannis de Offincton querenti 1 Pictorem in partria sua, 3s. 6d."

In the Sacrist's roll of annual expences about the church from Michaelmas, 13 Ed. III. (1339), to Michaelmas following are these charges made under the general title of "Custos novi Operis," and the particular head of "Custos novæ Picturæ."

In 31 lagenis & dimid *Olei* empt. de quodam nomine de Wicham pro color. temperand'. 21s. prec. lag. 8d.

In  $\frac{c}{13}$  [d] de Silverfol. emp. per vices de Radulpho de Golbeter & de aliis apud London ut patet per parcell. 6s. 9d. prec. C 6d. Item,  $\frac{c}{8}$  de Goldfyn empt. de eodem per vices ut patet per parcell. 32s. prec. C 4s. Item,  $\frac{c}{12}$  de Gold parti empt. de eodem, 36s. prec. C 3s. Item, 1 lib. de orpiment. empt. 6d. Item, in

[d] Thirteen Hundred.

" 3 quarter.



3 quarter. de Vermilion, empt. de Thoma de Hende 11*d.*  
 Item, 4 Buſs de Scrowes pro Cole inde faciend. 18*d.* Item.  
 1 liſ. & dimid. albi plumbi empt. apud Cantabrig. 2*s.* 8*d.*  
 Item, in 6 liſ. de Vermilion empt. de Robert de Dokkyng,  
 5*s.* liſ. 10*d.* In Cynopro empt. 16*d.* In 40 liſ. de blaunk  
 plumb. empt. de Will. de Elingham apud Lenn, 5*s.* 8*d.* prec.  
 liſ. 1½*d.* In ſtipend. Walteri Pictoris per 42 ſeptimanas (quia  
 ſtetit cum Domina de Clare per 10 ſeptimanas) 28*s.* cap. per  
 ſeptiman. 8*d.* præter menſam et robam.

In the ſame Roll is this article under the head of “ Minut.  
 “ res.” Item, dat. Waltero Pictori ex curialitate Domini per  
 vices, 4*s.*

In the Sacriſt’s annual Roll of expences about the church  
 from Michaelmas, 15<sup>o</sup> anno Regis Ed. III. (1341) to Michael-  
 mas following, under the title of minute expences, is this,  
 “ Dat. Waltero garcioni Pictoris, 4*s.*” and under the head of  
 “ Aurum & Colores empt.” theſe following articles, “ In  
 600 auri empt. apud Lenn, 26*s.* prec. C. 4*s.* In C. auri empt.  
 apud London 4*s.* In 1 quarter de Cynopro empt. 4*s.* In 3  
 liſ. & quarter de Azure empt. 10*s.* 6*d.* prec. liſ. 3*s.* In 3 liſ.  
 de Vermilion, 2*s.* 6*d.* prec. liſ. 10*d.* In 8 liſ. Coloris Auri 5*s.*  
 6*d.* prec. liſ. 8*d.* quad. 6 liſ. de rub. plumb. 2*s.* prec. liſ. 4*d.*  
 In 6 liſ. de Albo Vernich, 18*d.* prec. liſ. 3*d.* In 2½ lagenis Olei,  
 empt. 2*s.* 2*d.*”

“ Excerpta è Rot. comput. Sacriſtæ Elien. a feſto St. Michael,  
 19 Ed. III. (1346) ad eundem feſtum anno reſoluto. Robertus  
 Aylſham tunc ſachriſta, ſub tit. minut. expenſe cum pictura.  
 In 600 foliis argent. empt. 6*s.* In 400 & dimid. foliis auri fa-  
 ciend. de proprio auro 4*s.* In 3 liſ. de Cynopre empt. 3*s.*

In 3 liḃ. de Azure empt. 7s. 6d. In 1 liḃ. & quarter de Azure empt. 10s. In 7 liḃ. de Verneys, empt. 21d."

" Excerpta è Rotulo Comput. Custodis Capellæ B. Mariæ a festo St. Michaelis, An. 24. Reg. Ed. III. per annos 4 sequentes. sub titulo Custus Capelle. In oleo empt. pro picture faciend in capellâ, 10s. In albo plumbo empt, 6s. 4s. In Cynopre empt. 20s. In Vermilion, 3s. In auro empt. pro dict. pictur. £.9. Solut. Johanni Pictori pro Candelabris & Olietis pingendis, 10s. Item, eidem Johanni Pictori pro 7 ymagin pingendis, 20s. Sub tit. Robe. empt. Item, in 1 Robe empt. pro pictore, 8s."

I have here given these extracts in all their detail, as they contain many and very curious articles of information in this branch of painting.

First, it appears that all these belong to house-painting. It must be observed, however, that glue or size and canvas or parchment were used. That there were two sorts of varnish, at common sale in the shops, the common sort, and a white varnish. These are articles distinct from the temperature of the colours in oil. That there were two sorts of gold leaf, the gold fyn, and gold parts, beside the gold colour. That the low wages of the painter are those of a common mechanick, not of an artist. On the subject of gowns given to them, I can observe from a picture of one *Serrio*, which I remember was painted on the vaulted roof of the North transept of Lincoln Cathedral (but now washed out), that he was represented in a long gown, with long sleeves, as a master in his art, and of a party colour.

The particular account of the painted cieling of the Cathedral of Peterborough, which was the original occasion and purport of this letter : and the consequent researches which this lead to ;  
will

will I believe give you a tolerable good account of the state of painting in England prior to the discovery of limning in oil by Van-Eyck.

I could here have gone into the state of the water colour pictures, which are to be met with in some of our most ancient manuscripts: some of which have great merit. I could have gone into some explanations of the illuminations which are in many of our manuscripts, and many of our public acts and charters, &c. but I do not consider these as English arts, or as done by English artists in general.

This letter was originally written and communicated to our Society, and I believe a minute made of it in the year 1772; but thinking that the subject was capable of, and deserved much greater eclairsiffements, I desired to recall my letter, and carried my researches, as appears in the additional particulars of this draught, much farther. I had also extracts from some of the old accounts of the master of the fabrick of Lincoln Cathedral; but they not coming up to the point I particularly looked to, I have not inserted them. (This letter has lain by me from that time to this, when coming to Bath I brought this amongst some other papers, the revising of which might fill up a vacant hour in the intervals of the amusing nothingness of this place.)

Some time after this letter was first draughted and communicated; and some time after I had received the very curious information communicated by Mr. Bentham; there was found in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, a manuscript, which, with permission, was published by the Sieur Raspe. This contains several matters of information on the art and practice of painting, and particularly, as I recollect, a receipt for the tempering of colours with oil; but as far as my recollection goes of

the judgment I formed of this, this temperament went only to that branch of painting which I distinguish as house-painting, *ad postes & ostia*, and not to limning.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient,

and most humble servant,

T. POWNALL.

XV. *Observations in Vindication of the Authenticity of the Parian Chronicle.* By Richard Gough, Esq. Director.

Read April 3, 10, 17, 1788.

THE ingenious author of an 8vo volume just published [a], under the title of “the Parian Chronicle,” has with much learning and diligence suggested his doubts, concerning the authenticity of that monument which the University of Oxford places at the head of her Collection of Marbles, having shewn it that respect ever since by the liberality of one of the noble family of Howard she became possess of that valuable Collection; the first which this country could boast for near a century, till the munificence and taste of a private individual formed one equal to it in the capital.

That there have been spurious monuments obtruded on the public, both in the form of MSS. inscriptions, medals, &c. ever since curiosity after such articles has been awakened, is too notorious to be contradicted. Nor is it less notorious that through the skill and judgement of the learned the imposture has been detected, and the mask torn off before these fictions had obtained a firm foundation. But that the charge of fiction should apply to the PARIAN CHRONICLE, or that it should come under any of the

[a] Rev. Mr. Robertson, author of “an Introduction to Polite Literature, 1762;” and of “an Essay on Punctuation, 1785.”

characters which constitute a forgery, seems so bold a conjecture that it merits the fullest examination.

With due deference to that learned body who in right of being possessors of this monument should in strict propriety assert its claims to authenticity, at least if not to infallible accuracy, may I be permitted to submit to the Society of Antiquaries such a view of the present writer's doubts, and such a discussion of them, as is consistent with the candor and liberality which he professes in proposing them, and which it becomes every inquirer after truth, whether on the side of attack or defence, to conduct himself with. Perhaps partiality, which I have always been taught to cherish for this venerable monument, may cast a mist before my eyes, and conceal from me the force of the arguments alledged by the opponent or the respondent. Those learned members of the Society of Antiquaries, who have made classical Antiquity their particular study, will moderate between us.

Nor let it be objected, that the challenge was first taken up in the Gentleman's Magazine [b]. Applause is due to the man who takes up the defence of established opinions when called in question, whoever he be, or in whatever mode he gives the alarm, while he keeps within proper bounds. It is surely right to take alarm at novel opinions; and if the established ones cannot be supported, it is equally right to give them up. But it is not less justifiable to try the validity of our oldest creed by some standard of fair discussion. Few forgeries, whether literary or others, have been able to maintain themselves beyond a short period; and it is the glory of this age and nation to have contributed beyond any other to the detection of some of the grossest.

[b] Vol. LV. pp. 531. 603.

Let us then allow the arguments against the authenticity of the Parian Chronicle in their fullest extent, and try them fairly in the Court of Criticism.

It is much to be regretted, that no fac-simile of this marble has hitherto been published, as of the *Marmor Sandvicense*, that from Athens engraved by the Dilettanti, and others. I need not enlarge on the utility of such a copy, which sets the original before the eyes of every critic in his closet, and would be final in determining many essential points, which without it are rendered equivocal. There is only a single line of this Marble so engraved in Pl. VIII. of Part II. of the "*Marmora Oxoniensia*," p. 104. which our author has had copied.

He has given the whole Chronicle in small Greek types, with a Latin version below, followed by an English translation, illustrated with notes.

Chapter I. contains the history of this Marble, from its bringing to England. In the remaining chapters are stated at large the following doubts, which I shall transcribe from p. 53, and then proceed to examine them.

1. The characters have no certain or unequivocal marks of antiquity. The characters  $\Pi$  and  $\Xi$  are supposed to be the only which bear marks of antiquity, for the intermixture of small letters is not considered by Mr. R. as such a mark, neither does he admit the archaisms as one.

2. It is not probable that the Chronicle was engraved for *private use*.

3. It does not appear to have been engraved by *public authority*.

4. The Greek and Roman writers, for a long time after the date of this work, complain that they had no chronological account of the affairs of antient Greece.

5. This

5. This Chronicle is not once mentioned by any writer of antiquity.

6. Some of the facts seem to have been taken from authors of a late date.

7. Parachronisms appear in some of the epochas, which we can scarcely suppose a Greek chronologer in the 129th Olympiad would be liable to commit.

8. The history of the discovery of the marbles is obscure and unsatisfactory.

9. The literary world has frequently been imposed upon by spurious books and inscriptions; and therefore we should be extremely cautious with regard to what we receive under the name of venerable Antiquity.

Let us follow his objections in their order.

1. The period of time treated of in this Chronicle commences 1582 years before the Christian æra, and is brought down to within 354 years of it; consequently the inscription must have been cut in some subsequent period. It cannot therefore rank with the *Sigean*, *Amyclean*, *Nemean*, *Delian*, *Cyzicenean*, or *Sandwich*; the latest of which precedes it by above 20 years. As to the Farnesian of Herodes Atticus, they are far too recent; and if, as good judges deem, they are a forgery, they are no test by which to try the Parian. The altar of Bacchus at Wilton, which Mr. Pegge [c] refers to 579. A. C. has the same letters. The Γ with one leg shortened is found in many Asiatic inscriptions [d].

But if we once admit that the form of the letters is no proof of the antiquity of the inscription, *because the most antient characters can be as easily counterfeited as those which compose our*

[c] *Archæol.* vol. I. p. 155.

[d] *Chandler, Inf. Ant.* p. 24.



*present alphabets* [e], there is an end to certainty, and no limits for suspicion.

The transcript of this inscription is given from that made in its present state, by Dr. Chandler, for the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, wherein the lacunæ are supplied by many happy conjectures. But as it is to be presumed the copy taken by Selden when the Marble first came over, or even from that by Prideaux 50 years after, approached nearer to exactness in proportion as the Marble was more perfect, the happiest subsequent conjecture must lose its value. And with regard to the first half of it we have only Selden's transcript to trust to.

What has been said against the form of the letters applies equally to the *Archaisms* observable, though not uniformly, in this monument, if they appear on other marbles, and therefore must be adopted on this, to conceal the forgery; or, which is more extraordinary, if the authenticity of the other inscriptions wherein they appear is therefore to be questioned. This is making a very controvertible use of an argument.

II. It is not easy to see why this inscription might not have been cut for *private use*, neither is the question at all affected by the determination: for many a public monument has been erected at the expence of a private citizen. As to the little stress that is to be laid on the inscribed monuments of the oldest antiquity they are not before us to speak for themselves, if there were no other foundation for the doubts entertained concerning them. The pillars of Seth and others may be rejected without involving in the same condemnation monuments of later date, and actually subsisting. It is proving too much to make the fiction of many inscriptions and MSS. apply to all, or to infer that because several of both sorts have been forged (and the number cannot be

[e] P. 56.

proved to be great) therefore several more may or must be forged. If the chronological observations of the Babylonians were cut on bricks, the laws of Solon in wood, and a poem of Hesiod consisting of 128 lines on lead, and this too at a time when writing on different and more obvious materials was in use, what objection can there be to recording a series of events on blocks of marble, which, notwithstanding our author's suggestions, appears less liable to injury than metal? Brass or lead might be stolen to melt, or consumed by accidental fire; but in a series of events, during the lapse of near 20 centuries, since the probable making of the Parian monument, what accident befall it more fatal than that of being brought from its own island to the polished capital of a cultivated nation?

III. But it is objected that it could not have been a *public* monument, because, 1<sup>o</sup>, the usual form directing its erection is wanting to denote that it was set up by public authority. All the instances alledged to prove this are purely honorary, not calculated to sanction a series of chronological events, or an essay on a particular subject. The oldest marbles before referred to have not this title or introduction. It is not found at the head of the Sigean vote in favor of Antiochus in Chishull [*f*], nor in that letter of Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax reciting their presents to the temple of Apollo Didymæus, inscribed on stone against the wall of that temple, within 20 years of our Chronicle [*g*]. Neither of these inscriptions are mentioned by historians, which seems to be an essential requisite with the objector to the Parian marble. Registers of benefactions, and of officers of temples, are not uncommon in the above temple and others [*h*]. See also the re-

[*f*] P. 50, and in the Appendix to Muratori's, Thesaurus, p. MMCXVIII.

[*g*] Chishull, p. 66.

[*h*] See the Ionian Antiquities.

cord of boundaries between the Samians and Prieneans [*i*], the renewal of friendship between the cities of Hermione and Andros in Sicily [*k*], the expenditure of Aristomenes on the Dionysiac games in Corcyra [*l*], and even the letter of Lysimachus with his determination now at Oxford [*m*]. The survey of the works of the Temple of Minerva Polias at Athens [*n*], an account of pay issued to certain troops [*o*], a 3d and 4th recording the sacred treasures at Athens [*p*], older than the Sandwich marble. I might here mention the bass relief in the Farnese palace representing the history of Hercules, with inscriptions in verse and prose round it, which the learned Corfini [*q*], supposes to have been dedicated in some temple in Doris, Peloponnesus, or Argolis, and the work of the most flourishing period of Greece.

But it is farther objected that the Chronicle does not appear to have been “extracted from any public records, or calculated to answer the purpose of authentic documents.” This, however, is more than has been made out. Monsieur Freret [*r*], who seems to have best understood this monument, observes that “the general and political history of Greece does not appear to have been the principal object of its author, whose design was rather to arrange in chronological order the notices necessary to assist in reading the poets, and ascertain the years of their birth and death, or at least of their greatest celebrity.”

[*i*] Chandler, *Insc. Antiquæ*, P. VI. 14.

[*k*] Gori. Muratori, DCVII.

[*l*] Muratori, DCXXXIII.

[*m*] Marm. Ox. p. 38.

[*n*] Chandler's *Inscriptions*, p. 37.

[*o*] *Ibid.* p. 40.

[*p*] *Ibid.* p. 41—47.

[*q*] Corfini *Herculis Quies & Expiatio*. fol.

[*r*] *Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.* xxvi p. 165, 4°. xlv. p. 15, 12°.

With this view he marks so carefully the kings of Athens from Cecrops to the abolition of that form of government, and relates several events in the history of those times; the establishment of the principal religious feasts at Athens, the introduction of different sorts of music into the hymns sung at these feasts, the first beginning of Tragedy and Comedy, the different theatrical victories of many poets and musicians. Among the 80 Epochs which remain there are few that contain any other facts, and they are almost always accompanied with circumstances of little importance in the history of literature, and on some occasions it is not easy to determine whether the date refers to the fact in general, or in literary history."

M. Freret accounts for his silence as to the affairs of Peloponnesus even in his particular object by supposing that this was express in the inscription at Sicyon mentioned by Plutarch [s] after Heraclides Ponticus, the chronology of which was regulated by the times of office of the priestesses of Juno at Argos, which method of computation was followed by Xenophon and Thucydides in their histories. On this inscription the æra of celebrity of the most famous poets and musicians was expressly marked, with the date of their victories. The authority of the Parian Chronicle may be sufficient for the history of the heroic times, being the only one that remains somewhat entire of all that the antients published. We have only fragments of the canons of Apollodorus, Eratosthenes, and Thrasyllus in Clemens Alexandrinus, and what we find on this part of antient history in Eusebius agrees with the Parian Chronicle in general. The epoch of the taking of Troy is that which separates the *heroic* from the *historic* times, and its date is most controverted among the antient Chronologers. On this epoch there is the greatest variation. The

[s] Dial. de Musica.

authority of the Chronicle may be sufficient for literary history ; however the dates are not always free from error or chronological perplexity. But it has not the same degree of authority for the general and political history of Greece. It exhibits only the opinion of a particular critic. Its calculation may serve to explain and supply the chronology of original historians, and the writers who represent them ; but if they contradict these, they are not of sufficient authority by themselves to overthrow them. We ought always to be on our guard against dates expressed in numerals, which may be incorrectly cut, or have been misread by Selden and Young, who had only characters half effaced.

Thus much for M. Freret's sentiments on the Chronicle in general. I forbear to take up time in transcribing his examination of particular epochs ; but shall content myself with referring to his *Memoire* in the XXVIth. vol. of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, &c. p. 157 and 209, 4°. or XLIV. 1—110, 12°.

The above may be admitted as an answer to the objections founded on the omission of facts and events relative to Paros in the Parian Chronicle, which is too general to admit them, not being a table of governors of that island, as the Amyclean or Sicyonian inscription are lists of priestesses of Apollo and Juno. Nor is there a single event of those recited by our critic of moment sufficient to entitle it to a place in this record. The siege and taking of it by Hercules in resentment for the death of two of his companions in his expedition against the Amazons ; the story of Minos being engaged in a sacrifice to the Graces in this island, and throwing away his crown and pipe on hearing of the death of his son Androgeus, whence it became a custom ever after at Paros to sacrifice to the Graces without crowns or pipes [1] ; the unsuccessful siege of Paros by Miltiades ; the exaction of tribute from it by Themistocles ; its reduction by Lysander, and

[1] Apollod. Bib. 265. Ed. Gale.

again by Conon; the peopling from hence an island of the same name in the Adriatic; the several times at which with the rest of the Cyclades it joined with the Persians or the Greeks, the origin of its name, and the several persons it gave birth to [u], are all facts incapable of being recorded on marble, however introduced *en passant* into historic narrative. Perhaps the omission of the birth of Archilochus is an exception to this rule. But it must be proved that the Parian Chronicle is a Chronicle of Paros, and that because it is a more general chronicle, it is therefore a forgery. It may have been only bespoke by some individual, or public body, to be cut in a block or table of that marble that was in so high repute, to be erected in some temple or public building in a very different part of Greece or Asia, but prevented by a variety of accidents from arriving at the place of its destination, which even had it reached it is a thousand chances to one if it would have been copied by any historian or traveller. Until the circumstances of its late discovery can be ascertained, it must be impossible to determine for what use or place it was intended, or indeed to how late a period it was brought down.

IV. But, says the objector, "the earlier periods of the Grecian history are involved in darkness and confusion. Herodotus the father of history, is irregular and desultory, and seems to have had no idea of any chronological order or precision. Thucydides only 13 years after him is too brief and concise in his narrative, which he resumes from Herodotus, and deduces to the Peloponnesian war, on which he is more diffuse, as being coæval with it; and though both he and Xenophon wrote in the form of annals, they introduce many

[u] Evenus, an elegiac poet, Agoracritus, a pupil of Phidias, and three encaustic painters. Choiseul.

incidental circumstances without any chronological distinction or reference to any memorable epoch: nor were Olympiads marked by years but by facts." The best historians of Greece differ both in facts and dates; and shall we ascribe more correctness to the Parian Chronicle than to Thucydides and Xenophon? We may certainly lower it far beneath their standard, without charging it with forgery, as there are many lesser antient historians who differ from the greater, without their genuineness being affected. Eratosthenes is allowed to have been an exact chronographer, and is supposed to have written about 25 or 30 years after the making of the Parian Chronicle. He might differ from or correct the chronology adopted on that marble; but though this may affect the credibility, or authority, or correctness of that marble, it by no means proves that it was fictitious, or of later date. Every thing that can be said against the method and accuracy of the antient chronology long after the establishment of Olympiads may be applied to the monument under consideration, without impeaching its originality. The Parian Chronicle is only as fallible as the chronologies of Ephorus, Timæus Siculus, Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and others; and its epochs, though not more certain than others complained of by Diodorus Siculus, are not therefore forged. Had this marble been appealed to by different writers, it would only have been one more difference of opinion superadded to the many others which they cite. If the date of a most important transaction in the most polished state of Greece, the legislation of Solon at Athens, was in Plutarch's time a subject of dispute and uncertainty, not ascertainable from written evidence or tradition, what wonder a chronicle inscribed on marble was not appealed to? There are many reasons to be assigned for neglecting it without an implication that it did not exist at the time. The authority of Diodorus Siculus is deemed decisive against it; because

because after all his pains and inquiries, he does not appear to have heard of it, or if he had heard of it, did not think it worthy of credit. It is presumed that because Diodorus was unable to ascertain the epoch of the Trojan war, or divide the period before it into chronological distinctions, therefore the Parian marble, which pretends to do both, did not exist in his time, or escaped his researches, or was not of sufficient authority. To this it might be answered, that scarce two antient writers agree in fixing the epoch of the siege or taking of Troy. The Parian Chronicle fixes it 1208 years before Christ, in which it differs 26 years from Eusebius, who follows the best chronologists of antiquity, and they differ but a year from each other. It is true Timæus differed 7 years, Dicaearchus 28, the author of the life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus 86, Duris Samius 150. Yet Petavius says the Parian marble totally confounds all the accounts of the antients, *antiquorum omnium rationes conturbat*. Dionysius Halicarnassensis says, in the earlier times nothing but the misreckoning of several γενεαι or generations is to be counted an error: errors of a few years seldom affect the exactness of chronology [x]. The term γενεαι is very uncertain, and is applied to one year, or 7, or from 20 to 30, and by Herodotus to the Heraclidæ, uniformly 33 years [y]. The calculation of the marble, however, agrees with that of Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, Philarchus, as to the day of the month on which Troy was taken: and why may we not suppose the same concurrence as to the year, though Plutarch [z], who relates the one, was not led by his subject to mention the other. It may be said this is not proof, and that the differences of the greatest au-

[x] VII. p. 408, ed. Lips.

[y] Gibert sur les rois d'Egypte, Mem. de l'Acad. des Inf. xix. p. 1. 4°. xxx. p. 7. 12m°.

[z] In Camillo.



thors on a day do not carry such weight as the difference of years from 9 to 150. Allowing this argument its full force, it only proves that the Parian Chronologer had an opinion of his own, as several others had; not that he never existed in antiquity. This will apply to the differences between him and others in other epochs, which as to material points of history are from 20 to 66 years.

Let us hear the opinion of another of the French literati on this marble.

“From the taking of Troy to Cecrops, says the elder Boivin [z], is a little less than 400 years. First, this is the common opinion. The Parian Chronicle allows 373 years for this interval. Eusebius in his Chronicle 375. It is impossible to find two better authorities on this subject. The Parian Chronologist is the first and most antient founder of the Greek Chronology. He has invented among the Greeks the method of writing chronologically, or at least the older methods are lost. He has drawn up a series of 79 epochs, and longer than any other of these times. He has followed the Attic æra, and taken Cecrops for his capital date: nothing is more original for our question than the year of Cecrops. And herein there is no error of transcribers. It is on marble, the autograph of the author, who drew it up by public authority, to serve as archives for the whole nation. It is an antient inscription of the island of Paros, which had been long subject to the Athenians, and dated its acts by their magistrates. It is perhaps the most precious monument of its kind that remains to us from all antiquity. Besides this it agrees with Eusebius, whose Chronicle is the most common that we have. Eusebius puts here two years more than the Parian; but this difference is so small that it may pass for the

[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins. ii. 396. 4°. iii. 34. 12°.

different manner of reckoning the first and last year by reckoning or not reckoning by the months that are deficient or supernumerary. Eusebius differs from himself. In his preface he puts 350 years and 374, i. e. 329 and 45, and in his *Preparatio Evangelica* (x. 9), 400 years. Syncellus gives 616 years. But what are particular authors against the Parian Chronicle, Censorinus, and Eusebius."

Again [a], "All the fabulous Chronology above Cecrops is arbitrary, not to say desperate. The Parian fails us there, and it is that properly which has served us as a guide for the 800 years from Cecrops to the first Olympiad."

In an *Essay on the study of the antient historians, and the degree of certainty of their proofs* [b], M. Freret inclines to think that the library collected by Pisistratus at Athens, carried away by Xerxes, and restored after the death of Alexander by Seleucus, laid the foundation for the first general histories among the Greeks. A critical examination of these titles and foundations of larger histories produced all the chronological works which then appeared. The only one which is come down to us tolerably entire is the Parian Chronicle, which has been preserved above 2000 years. But the fragments which remain of the Chronicles of Eratosthenes, Castor, Apollodorus, Thrasyllus, and many others, shew that the greater part of these chronologists agree sufficiently in material points to give us reason to believe that they had worked from authentic memoirs.

The Abbe de Canaye, in a *Memoir on the Arcopagus* [c], appeals to this Chronicle for the æra of the first institution of that high court.

[a] *Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.* vi. 168. 4°. viii. 266. 12m°.

[b] *Ib.* p. 37.

[c] *Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.* vii. 180, 4°. x. 283. 12°.

M. de Valois, also in his Essay on the Sacred War of the Greeks [d], appeals to this precious marble, as he calls it, for establishing the epoch of the taking of Cirrha, and the renovation of the Pythic games by Eurylochus, which the old Greek scholiast of Pindar places in the 2d year of the 47th Olympiad, under the archonship of Simon, which is the 38th epoch of our marble. Yet Pausanias differs so much from both these writers in placing these events in the 3d year of the 48th Olympiad, that M. Valois declares he should not have hesitated to prefer his authority to that of the Scholiast, had not the Parian Chronicle presented itself in support of the latter. He cannot account for the silence of Pausanias about the marble, otherwise than by supposing that he had never seen it, or that he wilfully concealed his knowledge of it. The former supposition is a reflection on Pausanias's exactness in visiting and consulting all the monuments in all parts of Greece; as this monument was not then buried in the earth, but standing a public depositary, preserved in some famous temple, open to public view, and accessible to every one. M. Valois persuades himself against Pausanias and Scaliger that the uniting, as the marble does, the two events with the archonship of Simon, which falls in the second year of the 47th Olympiad, is decisive in favor of the Scholiast. These first Pythian games were distinguished above all preceding ones by the allotting of the booty taken in the sacred war and at Cirrha in rewards to the victors at them, which is particularly noted on this *respectable* marble, as M. Valois styles it [e]. From it he corrects the Scholiast of Pindar, *μετὰ δε χρόνον ENNαείη* instead of *εξαείη*; and whereas Pau-

[d] Ibid, Ib. 236, 4°. p. 357. 12°.

[e] Ibid, 237, 4°. p. 375. 12°.

fanias differs 5 years in the interval between the 1st and 2d Pythiad, this may be set right if we reflect that in the earliest times the Pythiads were celebrated every *nine* years, though the antients differ in the interval between each.

I might transcribe a whole paper of M. Gibert [*f*] expressly on the subject of this marble, which he treats as of the greatest authority, not only for its antiquity 500 years before that of the earliest historians that are come down to us, but for being an original clear of the alterations and faults so inseparable from histories and chronologies that have been transmitted by a succession of transcripts. He is lavish of his praises of Seldén and Prideaux for their diligence and accuracy in reading and copying it, and even gets over the objection raised by Mill, who consulting it for Bentley 23 years after Prideaux, read 7 or 8 words more in one line, but found several others intirely effaced. He proceeds to shew that the year made use of on it is the *Parian*; that each Athenian archonship concurs with two Parian years, and two Athenian archonships answer to three Parian years; and that the events whose date is certain tally exactly by this mode of calculation. He accounts for the placing the archonships of Euctemon and Antigènes two years before Diodorus' list, by ascribing it to a difference of opinion. He adjusts the epoch of Gelo's tyranny, and shews that there is no anachronism in the reign of Hiero."

From all these testimonies it appears how highly the learned on the continent think of this marble. What would they have said had it fallen into the hands of M. Peiresc?

Homer's age is another epocha much controverted. Our marble, however, agrees with Porphyry and the generality of

[*f*] Mem. de l'Acad. xxiii, 61—82. 4°. xxxviii. 99—133. 12°.

writers as represented by Suidas, in placing him 907 or 908 years before Christ, which is but 14 years later than Eusebius had placed him. And yet the Grecian chronologists carry him back from 20 to 60, and 80, and even 200 years further. "There is a variation, says the objector, of 500 years in the conjectures of the antients in this article." The Parian marble differs 62 from Apollodorus, and from Eratosthenes 202.

As to the opinion of a very late editor of the Septuagint copy of Daniel at Rome, 1772; that the Parian Chronicle was the work of Demetrius Phalereus, there is so little certainty about the author, or the work ascribed to that Prince, that we may pass by the objections arising from this hypothesis. I would, however, just observe that admitting Demetrius Phalereus, or any other Demetrius, to have composed a chronicle, whether under the name of *Ανασραφη* simply, or *Ανασραφη των Αρχοντων*, it does not necessarily follow that this Chronicle was copied on the marble during the life of the Compiler, or in its fullest extent. It would only mean that his hypothesis was followed on it, though we have not his work to compare with it.

The objector defends the genuineness of Phædrus and Curtius on ground which he will not allow to be taken in behalf of the Parian Chronicle, and admits the silence of contemporary writers against them, which he will not allow for the marble. Curtius is not quoted till the middle of the 12th century. If there was any pretence for supposing him a forgery, the rank which Alexander the Great held in the times of Chivalry would be sufficient to justify the suspicion. "Alexander, says Mr. Warton [g], was the most eminent Knight-errant of Gre-

[g] Hist. of Eng. Poetry, I. 129—133.

cian Antiquity. Q. Curtius was an admired historian of the romantic ages." He is first quoted by Petrus Blesensis about 1150, by Joannes Sarisburiensis about 1170. Consequently, Curtius then first started up, a fictitious history of the gests of Alifandre, and in about half a century afterwards Philip Gualtier, provost of the canons of Tournay, raised on it a Latin poem in ten books, called the *Alexandreid* [b]. By such deductions might one persuade the world that Curtius's History was a fiction of the 12th century.

Now we are speaking of Alexander, let me just introduce an observation of the author of "Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre," p. 343, & seq. who proposes to substitute to the birth of that prince on the Parian Marble, the first success of Demosthenes as an orator, and to the mention of Aristotle that of Plato. Both events are supplied on the marble, and there is room for the alteration which is better founded than the present supplement.

I return to Phædrus; and observe that whatever is objected to his genuineness from the lateness of discovery, and the silence of antient writers about him, applies more forcibly to Velleius Paterculus, of whom there is but one MS. extant, and that not discovered or published till 1520; for Fabricius says the edition of Venice 1476 is a fiction, and there were not wanting critics who objected to the genuineness of the original itself.

In the comparison of the Parian Chronicle with other authors who have treated the same subjects, there is nothing so particularly striking as to induce one to suspect it was copied

[b] Ibid. 2d Dissertation, sheet i. 2.

from later writers. The agreement is rather in *facts* than *words*. The fact about Deucalion is supported by Pausanias. The enumeration of the 12 cities of Ionia in the same order as by Ælian is purely accidental; it was sufficient to the chronicler's purpose if he said these cities were founded by the Ionians, without specifying, which was founded first, and which last. The fall of the stone into Ægospotamos, though the Chronicle does not say *whence* it fell, will never prove that he had the superior understanding of a modern naturalist, who knew better than to say it fell out of the sun, the *heaven* or *the air*. It was sufficient to his purpose to say it *fell*; and by recording this fall he referred to a fact believed by the antients, whether on philosophical grounds or not. It would have been more worthy of Eusebius to have exploded a vulgar error; but he contents himself with saying the stone fell from *heaven*.

VII. Before we attempt to reconcile the *parachronisms* of the marble, we should clear those of historians. This it will not be easy to do in the very first instance of Pheidon inventing weights and measures, which antient historians have made to vary 100 years, and Sir Isaac Newton fixed 200 years later still.

As to the second instance, the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, we have in many cases seen that the Chronicler joins several transactions together to form one epocha. Here he blends the murder of Hipparchus, and the expulsion of Hippias, though the latter happened 4 years after the former.

The remaining parachronisms, if not errors of the stone-cutter, or alterations of numerals by time and accident, would certainly be too gross, even for a counterfeiting sopher. Thus Monsieur Freret solves the difficulty in the 73<sup>d</sup> epoch of the  
battle

battle of Leuctra, which is antedated a whole year. The date of Dionysius's tyranny in Syracuse should be 147 instead of 144; the death of Euripides 145, that of Sophocles 143, Ante C. 406. [i]: for the three archons Euctemon, Antigenes, and Callias, were immediate successors to each other. M. Freret accounts for the difference in the tyranny of Dionysius, by dating its commencement from the time of his being General with an unlimited commission; *ερανητος αυιοκρατωρ.*

Monfieur Freret, after remarking that the author of this Chronicle has, for the chronology of the heroic times, an authority nearly equal to that of the antient critics who are opposed to him, and that the dates of literary history would lead to discussions of too great length and extent, proceeds to examine some of those of the general history. In the 42d epoch, or that of Cræsus' conquest in Asia Minor, part of the numerals are effaced, and in the 43d, or his taking of Sardis, they are totally gone. In the 43d epoch this chronicle agrees with Socrates, though it differs three years from Eusebius [k]. In the 45th the first numerals are wanting. The 49th, or that of the battle of Marathon, is right. The 50th, or that of the death of Darius, has lost the first numerals, and the remaining were very uncertain in Selden's time. This last epoch is examined at large by M. Freret, who vindicates Ctesias by supposing an error in the numerals in the MS. In order to reconcile the marble with Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, the astronomical canon of Ptolomy, &c. he proposes to read the evanescent figures as Prideaux did, and to understand the term *εϋθυς*, used by Plutarch of the archonship of Aristides, in a more

[i] See M. Gibert. ubi sup.

[k] Freret, Mem. de l'Acad. vii. 427, 428.



extensive sense, perhaps 4 or 5 years, which will bring all right. The Chronicle almost always uses the aorist, and by this circumstance the difficulty of the 54th and 56th epochs may be got over. In a second Memoir M. Freret shews that the years made use of in it are Athenian.

VIII. The *discovery* of the Chronicle is further urged as an argument against its genuineness. Authors are divided between *Paros* and *Smyrna*, as the places where it was found. But it is too bold an assertion to say that Sir Thomas Roe in his letters to lord Arundel *does not once mention the Parian Chronicle*. For in p. 512 of Roe's "Negotiations," in a letter (not indeed to lord Arundel but) to the Duke of Buckingham, dated May 1626, he says,

"In an island called *Augusto* near *Paris* [Paros] in the arches I have heard of TWO GREAT MARBLES, and have taken command to fetch them by the Bishop of Naxia."

The objector may perhaps contend that there is no island of the name of *Augusto* in the best modern map of the Archipelago, such as that of M. Choiseul, and we may reply that it may be a misnomer for *Antiparos* or *Amergos*. But the passage certainly proves that Roe was not unacquainted with the *two great marbles*, and that he took measures to procure them by the interest of the bishop of the neighbouring island of Naxia. It further proves that the Chronicle consisted of *two* pieces or parts and not of "a series of several pieces," nor "of a single piece:" and this accounts for the loss of one of the pieces on the dispersion of the Arundelian Collection: When Petavius speaks of *Arundelian Marbles* dug up at Smyrna, he means the *two pieces* that composed this Chronicle, and this may account for their separation when one was converted into a chimney

piece or hearth, as if they were *previously* divided. Palmerius calls them *fragments*. Neither is this Chronicle the only subject of the discovery mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe or Gassendi. The former says Mr. Petty had collected "200 pieces in all the islands," and the latter that the Arundelian marbles (or the marbles which afterwards fell to the lot of the Earl of Arundel) were first discovered and dug up by means of Peiresc, who paid 50 pieces of gold for *that purpose*. Not a word is said of the Parian Chronicle separately till Selden found it out and wrote on it.

There is nothing suspicious in the manner in which Monsieur Peiresc lost these marbles after having agreed for the purchase of them. Every traveller knows the chicanery and roguery of the Turks and Greeks, and how much easier it is for them to extort an exorbitant price for a piece of antiquity than to forge it. If Peiresc's agent Samson was a Jew, he might join in the plot; and when the marbles were once smuggled away from his employer, it would have been so difficult to recover them or to get redress from the Turkish government that the first loss was least, especially when he had the satisfaction to find into what hands they had passed. The people who sold the marbles may have been capable of executing any scheme that might gratify their avarice, by selling them twice over; but it would be difficult to prove that they were capable of forging them: as well might it be said they carved the statues or bas reliefs of the Arundelian Collection. That the *lacunæ* were in the inscriptions from their original cutting, or occasioned in the interval between Peiresc's losing and lord Arundel's getting, them is absolutely begging the question; and so indeed I think is the idea that the Chronicle so forged might

“ NOT

“not have come immediately from the hands of the original fabricator.”

IX. We come now to the last objection, which appears to me to have the least weight of any, amounting to no more than this; the world has been imposed upon many times, and therefore may be again. That false authorities should be appealed to in order to establish the antiquity of nations or families is not wonderful; but it would be extraordinary that there should not be found somebody capable of detecting the falsehood, and that soon: such has been the fate of Veremundus, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other European historians; such of Berofus, Manitho, Hermes Trismegistus, Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, and even the poems of Orpheus, which are now scarce mentioned. The fictions of the Sophists were overthrown by Dr. Bentley. When books are ascribed to an author to the amount of 20 or 30,000 we may be sure the computation is erroneous, and somewhat like that of our countrymen Bale and Pitts, who give the name of *book* to every leaf or letter written by the authors in their lists. As to the writings of Numa the decree of the senate for burning them will never prove they were *forgeries*; for though Livy [l] tells us, Valerius Antias was of that opinion, the report of the reader of them to the senate on which that order was founded, was, that they contained *pleraque dissolvendarum religionum*, and so Valerius Maximus [m] and Plutarch [n] say the same, that the established religion and constitution of Rome would have been affected by making them public. They had departed too far from their pristine

[l] XLI. 29.

[m] L. i. 12.

[n] In Numa.

state, to bear the test of their philosophic sovereign's injunctions. But admitting the forgeries practised upon the collectors for the libraries of Pergamus and Alexandria, or the confusion of names which has given one author's writings to another; admitting the motives which influenced modern forgers of ancient authors, or the weak prejudices of the first Christians, or of the numerous heretics in the early ages of the Church, whereby fictitious writings were multiplied to support particular doctrines, or the artifices of the church of Rome to support her fooleries, or the four attempts to impose on our credulity in the present credulous, though enlightened, age; admitting the motives for the fictitious inscriptions of Cyriacus Anconitanus, of Alexander Geraldinus, and others, founded on the vanity incident to travellers, particularly in the earlier periods of discovery, or of Inghiramius and Annius of Viterbo to exalt Volterra and Viterbo in point of antiquity and consequence; admitting, I say, that there were motives for all these fictions, (and after all that has been said, the Inscriptions collected by Cyriacus Anconitanus did not appear fictitious to Muratori [o]), can it be made appear that there was a shadow of motive for imposing on the public such a monument as the *Parian Chronicle*. Fabricius observes [p], that the inserting spurious inscriptions is a very common fault in the first collections of them. To this probably it is owing that some have crept into Gruter's *Thesaurus*, which is made up of all that were communicated to him from MS. copies, as well as from the stones themselves. He has, however, thrown such as he thought spurious at the end by themselves. Much of the credit of an inscription must de-

[o] Pref. ad. *Thesaur. Inscriptionum*, p. 2.

[p] *Bibl. Lat.* L. iv. c. 3.

pend on the correctness or knowledge with which it is copied. Accordingly Gori has restored many of Gruter's, and later travellers in Greece have rectified Spon's inaccuracy; and Muratori expresses his wishes that the inscriptions which compose his *Thesaurus* were re-examined and compared with the originals, if they could be found. He observes that incorrectness is more frequent in the *Greek* inscriptions by the confounding one letter with another [q].

But though it cannot be denied that inscriptions and MSS. have been forged in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries [r], as well as long before, I think every circumstance, both intrinsic and extrinsic, is against the fiction of the Parian Chronicle. The arts and aims of Critophilus Metrophanes, who imposed on the good nature and bounty of Archbishop Abbot, were of a very different kind from those of counterfeiting antiquities. The Alexandrine MS. lately published with so much credit to this kingdom does equal credit to the patriarch, who presented it to Sir Thomas Roe for his sovereign, notwithstanding the blunders of Sir Thomas about it: for nothing like what he wrote to Archbishop Abbot appears in the patriarch's certificate now in the MS. [s].

[q] Ubi sup. p. 4.

[r] The laws enacted by the Roman Emperors both Pagan and Christian, and by the Popes, and Kings of France, against those who forged records, deeds, or titles, from the first to the 16th Century, are remarkably severe. The detection of these falsities was not so difficult as has been imagined even in the earlier times. See *Nouv. Traite de Diplomatie*, Tom. VI. part vi. p. 110—230. Peiresc detected a fictitious foundation charter of the cathedral of Toulon, and had the forger of it sentenced to death, and the writer of it to the galleys. Bouche, *Hist. de Provence*, II. 86.

[s] *Præf. Woide*, § 4. c. 41.

Many

Many inscriptions, whose peculiarity rendered them doubtful if not suspicious on a first view, have been established by succeeding discoveries. And who except Selden ever called in question the inscription on the Columna Rostrata, unless we would suppose every one of that period, and among the rest the sepulchral inscriptions of the Scipios lately discovered and published by Piranesi, is to come under the same censure?

It should seem that Sir Thomas Roe was more likely to be duped as a collector of antiques than Mr. Petty [t], to whom he bears this honorable testimony, that though his modesty would not permit him to say so, he was informed he “had gotten “many things rare and antient;” and even when he undervalues the stones which he dug because “*good things undefaced* are rare, or rather not to be found,” he commends his talent and diligence for such search. Mr. Petty seems to have accommodated himself to the natives, as the late Dr. Askew did; and will any man affirm that the Dr. was imposed on in any of the valuable articles which he brought together? If Sir Thomas expected things undefaced, or had encouraged such to be brought to him, is it not much more probable that he would have been egregiously imposed on?

[t] Selden in his preface characterises him as “the very learned William Petty” and celebrates his great judgement in collecting antient marbles.

I think it highly probable that this was Mr. Petty, master of the Free school at Beverley, to whom Sir Hugh Cholmley was sent there 1611. Upon being chosen fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; he quitted the school, and took with him Sir Hugh, who was then (1613) only 13 years of age and 3 months. He is characterised in Sir Hugh's Memoirs lately printed for private use, (p. 36) as “a good scholar and witty man, but given to drinking, and so debauched us all, that I had been utterly undone, but for an intervening occasion—which was this: my said tutor Petty was called from college to London, to be tutor and master to the Earl of Arundel's sons in their father's house.”

I take this opportunity to correct my mistake in Brit. Topog. II. 128. in supposing the person employed by the Earl of Arundel to collect for him was *Sir William Petty*; for that gentleman was not then born.

It

It may be fairly asked if any counterfeit monument has been palmed upon us from Greece or Asia. The monks and literati of Italy have exerted great fertility of invention. But have the caloyers discovered inclination or talents in the same way: or have the most learned of the modern Greeks for the three last centuries shewn themselves equal to compiling a system of antient Chronology for their country, or to forging the epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, or the many sophistical pieces, which after all are rather to be called *imitations* than *forgeries*: and the objecter himself allows the Chronicle in question with all its faults to be *no contemptible production*.

To return once more to the argument taken from this Chronicle not having been mentioned or referred to by any historian of antiquity. Are any of the monumental records given by Mr. Chishull thus referred to [u]? They are it is true confirmed by historical evidence; but which of the historians specify their being inscribed in stone, and erected in their temples?

[u] The same may be said of the honorary monument erected to the Erechtheid tribe reciting wars barely mentioned by historians. Gallix antiq. select. p. 82. Bimardi Dissert. 1ma Muratori, II. DCCCLXXVIII.

The marble charged with the names of the youths registered from one of the tribes at Athens and admitted into the number of the Ephebi. Corsini Fasti Attici IV. proleg. p. ix.

The bas relief and inscription of Mantheus at Wilton is a record of a victory at the Nemean games between the 70th and 80th Olympiad. Bimardi Dissert. Muratori Thef. Insc. prefixa. The genuineness however of this marble has been doubted.

The bas relief of Xanthippus offering a votive foot to the Gods in memory of his happy recovery from a wound received in one of his feet has been referred to the Spartan general who commanded his countrymen in the Carthaginian army against the Romans, but may as well relate to the father of Pericles, who defeated the Persians at Mycale, though we have no facts in history to support either reference.

On the other hand many monumental records referred to by historians do not now exist. Such are the brass table in the temple of Juno Lacinia at Lacinium inscribed with the actions of Hannibal, which served Polybius as a foundation for his history, III. p. 188, Livy xxix. c. ult. Bimardi Differentio 1ma. Muratori Thef. Insc. col. 4.

The custom was too general to require this; and since so many records of this sort are daily discovered in the rubbish of the more famous temples of Greece and Asia Minor, since the researches of M. Fourmont were so well rewarded in the Morea, and Dr. Chandler regrets that he did not pursue his further at Delphi and other places, can we take upon us to decide that this Chronicle may not have graced some famous temple, or have been intended so to do? The privileges granted by the Roman Emperors to some of the Asiatic states, though alluded to by Tacitus, are not referred to as inscribed on stones, whence consul Sherard copied them. But what shall we say of the History of Augustus' Acts inscribed on three sides of the porch of his temple at Ancyra, of which no antient writer has made mention, but only of the brazen tablet placed before his tomb at Rome, whereon Suetonius says he directed his acts to be inscribed? I do not at present recollect a similar example in the line of inscriptions. It opens a wide field to conjecture how such an inscription came here. But there has not been suggested the slightest suspicion of its authenticity from the time of bishop Wrantz and Busbequius, who brought the first copy of it into Europe in the middle of the 16th century, to that of Bishop Pococke [x], who, if I mistake not, made the last copy, of only a few lines about two centuries after, not to mention Coffon, Paul Lucas, Gronovius, Tournefort, and Chishull, and the editors of some Roman historians, who have severally perplexed or established it. Bishop Pococke mentions a counterpart of this inscription in *Greek*, cut in the same walls; and should the curiosity after antient inscriptions not be extinct, or the curiosity for investigating the antiquities of Asia Minor

[x] Travels, II. ii. 88. Inscriptions, p. 6.



be not intirely worn out, there may still remain ample matter for discussion on this single monument, to trace a complete copy of it in its present state, and to reconcile its contradictions with historians: for that even this monument as well as the Parian contains many such contradictions, both in facts and numbers (though the latter are given in words at length and not in numerals) may be seen from the illustrations of it by Mr. Chishull and others [y].

But it is not only a difference in facts from the bulk of historians and chronologists that renders our Chronicle guilty of fraud. Its very concurrence with them exposes it to the same censure. A principle, which, if one admitted, destroys the credibility of every inscription that has the smallest relation to ancient history. Let us apply this reasoning to some one other monument of antiquity. The speech of the Emperor Claudius for admitting the Gauls to a share of the honors at Rome has been preserved both in Tacitus [z], and on a brass tablet found at Lyons 1728. The difference in style and composition between the historian's copy and the original, great as it is, has never been made an argument against the genuineness of the latter. The *Lex Imperii* or *Regia*, by which the senate conferred the empire on Vespasian [a], mentioned only in four words by Tacitus, was found on another brass plate at Rome, and preserved in the capital, unsuspected of forgery, till Ernesti moved some doubts about it in his edition of Tacitus, 1772, still subject to the opinions of those who had examined or might examine the original. Let us take the famous decree of the senate against the Bacchanalian rites which occasioned such an alarm

[y] I pass over a fragment relative to the Servile war, illustrated with notes by Baron Bimardi, who communicated it to Muratori for his "Thesaurus Inscriptionum," as it is uncertain whether it was copied from a brass plate, a stone, or a MS. It contains, however, some names of persons and places like the fragment of Livy lately discovered in the Vatican.

[z] Annal. XI. 24.

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[a] Tac. Hist. IV. 6.

B b

at Rome, A. U. 56. Ante C. 186. A copy of this decree on a brass plate about a foot square was found in the last century in digging the foundation of a house for a nobleman in Calabria. It appeared to have been broken and mended antiently, and was accompanied with various fragments of pillars, cornices, &c. &c. a human body of large proportions embalmed in a stone coffin. It was carefully preserved by the prince of the country, a descendant of the family of the finder, who permitted several copies to be taken of it, the last and most correct in 1727, by Mathæus Egyptius, who published a fac simile of it with a commentary at Naples two years after, when it had been procured for the Emperor's library at Vienna by his physician and librarian. In the time and circumstances of the discovery of this plate, the breaking and mending of it prior to this discovery, the orthography like that of the Duillian and other inscriptions, the conformity with Livy's relation of the story which occasioned, and the decree then past, might all serve as so many evidences against its authenticity in the hands of an acute objector, in the mode of reasoning before mentioned, while in the minds of antiquaries whose acquaintance with such inscriptions sets a variety of exemplars before their view it would derive authenticity from the comparison, and particularly with this Society, who possess authentic copies of a similar monument of about a century later, found also in Calabria, and so happily illustrated by two of their members: I shall easily be perceived to allude to the HERACLEAN TABLES.

It is time to conclude this long Memoir, for which it will be incumbent on me to apologize to that learned University, who are the depositaries of its subject: that I have thus presumed to anticipate its defence, which it would be unjust to suppose they will any longer decline: especially as, if I am not misinformed, they meditate a new edition of their "Marmora."



Schnobbelin del.

Antiquities found in a Stream work near St. Austel, 1774.

Baſon Sc.



XVI. *Account of Antiquities discovered in Cornwall,*  
 1774. *By Philip Rashleigh, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read May 8, 1788.

**I**N the year 1774, as some tanners were searching for tin in a stream-work near St. Austell, in the county of Cornwall, about 17 feet under the surface of the ground, they discovered a silver cup, which is now used for wine at the Communion Table, in which were several antient pieces of ornament, for a person of high rank, as represented in Pl. VIII. The cup was placed in a heap of loose stones, the refuse of an old tin-work, and covered with a common slate, where it was probably hid in troublesome times, either by the owner, or by some person who stole it. The quantity of earth and stone which had accumulated over the cup since it was deposited in the stream-work, shews that it had remained there for a great number of years. The cup was very thin and brittle, and fell into so many pieces as to prevent its being united. Besides the articles represented in the drawing, it contained many of the most curious Saxon coins ever discovered at one time. These with the other pieces of antiquity fell out in moving the ground, and some were probably lost in shovelling about the rubbish. Those which were picked up were in a few hours dispersed about the country, and many of them broken. The greatest part were afterwards collected, and are at Menabilly in Cornwall.

The articles represented in the plate are the property of John Rashleigh, Esq. of Penquite in that county, on whose land they were found. The coins and silver ornaments were most of them coated over with copper, with which the water might be impregnated from some vein of copper ore in the neighbourhood, and which gave many of the coins the appearance of copper, rather than of silver.

Fig. 2, is gold, and had the little square piece of gold, fig. 3, wrapt up in it.

Fig. 4, is a silver cord running through a kind of serpentine stone, of a greenish colour, with white spots, fig. 5.

Fig. 6, is supposed to be a bracelet.

Fig. 7, another broken.

Fig. 8, 9, others.

Fig. 10, a silver spring, the ornaments on the different sides as at fig. 11.

Fig. 12, a silver ring.

Fig. 13, another ring.

Fig. 14, a silver buckle.

Fig. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, are fragments whose use is not accounted for any more than fig. 22, 23.

Fig. 24, is one of the Saxon coins before mentioned, and appears by the inscriptions to have been of Burgred, last King of Mercia, expelled from his dominions, A. D. 874.

BVRLRED REX.

On the reverse,

MON  
LEHTILI  
ETA.

A new Mint-master.

XVII. Discoveries in opening a Tumulus in Derbyshire.  
In a Letter from the Rev. Mr. Pegge to the  
Rev. John Brand, Secretary.

Read May 8, 1788.

S I R,

Whittington, March 15, 1788.

JOHN WEBSTER, a farmer at *Smiril* in the county of Derby, occupies some land belonging to Lord Viscount Howe, which gives him a privilege on *Middleton-moor*, and wanting this year to burn some lime, he dug for that purpose into a Tumulus or *Low*, on that part of the Moor called *Garret-piece*; and began his work at the bottom of it, on a level with the circumjacent ground.

The Low is about half a mile South-east of the *Arbelows*, or *Arbourlows*, of which you have some account in the VIIIth volume of *Archæologia* [a]; and when the farmer had proceeded in digging to the center of it, and directly under the depression at the top (the Lows generally having a cavity or hollow

[a] Mr. Maty observes, whoever goes to *Derby* must needs know the Lows. . . . very well? Review, Nov. 1785, p. 351, but now the Lows are not near *Derby*. However, in p. 131, of *Archæologia*, for *lang*, r. *laeg*; and p. 140; for *Arax*, r. *Arwr*, these being two very material errors.

on their summits) he found the three pieces of brass, of which a drawing made by the accurate hand of our worthy and very useful member, Hayman Rooke, Esq. accompanies this short memoir [b]. The remains of the body there interred, or rather covered with the Low, (for it was laid on the natural ground) were but few, lying East and West, and the round jewel, No. 3, was found placed near the point of the shoulder.

I have but little to say, Sir, on the subject of these very ancient, and perhaps druidical remains. N<sup>o</sup> 1, which is a circular fragment, very thin and light, 7 inches diameter, and 3 inches high, has a little shallow groove round its bottom, as if intended to receive a band or fillet, for the purpose of tying and fastening it when complete (for it is now miserably broken and shattered) to the breast, or head, of the party that wore it; if the former, as a gorget or breast plate, if the latter, as an helmet or skull-cap. N<sup>o</sup> 2, seems to have been part of the clasp; and N<sup>o</sup> 3, to partake of the nature of a *Bulla*, or other Amulet; or perhaps was only a meer ouche or ornament. Both these are of the size of the drawing. The vermicular or scroll work on both was no doubt at the time thought to be very fine, having been enameled; and probably these two reliques had been esteemed the greatest valuables the owner had in his possession, it being usual, in remote antiquity, to bury such *Cimelia* with a corpse.

However, Sir, though the nature and use of these reliques be hidden in almost impenetrable darkness, and can only be the subject of very vague conjecture, I am nevertheless of opinion, and you, I flatter myself, will concur with me, that the representation of them, here sent, may be well worth preserving;

[b] See pl. IX.







since some future happy discovery may possibly happen to illustrate them, or they, in their turn, may contribute to elucidate antiques that still lie buried in the ground, and may hereafter come to light.

I am, Sir,

with great respect,

your most obedient,

humble servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

P. S. Soon after I had dispatched my letter to you relative to the above discovery, that useful and worthy magistrate, Douning Rasbotham, Esq. of Birch House, Farnworth, near Bolton in the Moors, Lancashire, was pleased to send me a drawing, made by himself, of a very extraordinary and curious small vessel, no larger than the drawing [c]; and I here transmit it to you, and through your hands to the Society, by way of deriving either from some one of that learned body, or from some happy discovery which may happen to be made hereafter, some plausible explanation of it.

The account received with the draught of this rude piece of pottery was as follows; 'that it appears to have sustained no greater heat in baking than that of the Sun;' was dug up last summer in the township of Clifton, about 4 miles north of Manchester, on the banks of the river Irwell, by some workmen who were sinking a trench, from a bed of gravel, which did not seem to have been ever stirred before; and, that along with

[c] See pl. IX. fig. 4.

it lay a few bones, and amongst them part of a skull apparently human, all which, with whatever else was buried with them, were thrown into the river.

Two things respecting this vase immediately strike the imagination. First, to consider, what ancient nation it may be ascribed to; and, secondly, to determine to what use and purpose it might probably serve.

As to the first point, I seem to be decidedly of opinion, leaving it however open unto better and more skillful judges, that from its being so imperfectly baked, so coarsely ornamented with a sort of zigzag, and so long interred that the gravel it lay in had the appearance of never having been removed, it cannot be a *Roman*, but rather must be a *British*, or *Druidical* remain. And in support of this notion, I beg leave to observe, that mean as this vase appears, it probably was the most valuable moveable the party deceased had been possessed of.

The second particular mentioned, viz. the use and destination of the vessel, is a topic so perplexing, that I profess it exceeds all harrillation of mine. As the bottom is convex, it was apparently intended to be held in the hand, and yet it could not be a drinking cup, as the two parallel perforations on the side, not far from the bottom, exclude every idea of that sort. And indeed this strange circumstance of the perforations renders this vase to me perfectly inexplicable in regard to its use. The Society has the drawing before them, and both Mr. Rastbotham and myself intreat the favour of some rational elucidation of this singular and very puzzling object from some of the learned members.

XVIII: *Observations on the Roman Road and Camps in the neighbourhood of Mansfield Woodhouse in the county of Nottingham. By Hayman Rooke, Esq. F. S. A. with an introductory Letter to the Secretary from Sir George Yonge, Bart. Secretary at War, F. A. S.*

Read June 5, 1788.

SIR,

Stratford Place, May 7, 1788.

**I** TRANSMIT to you, at the request of my respectable and ingenious friend, Major Rooke, of Woodhouse, a small treatise, which he has drawn up on some Roman Roads, Tumuli, Stations, and Camps, which he has lately traced in the neighbourhood of *Mansfield*, and which have not hitherto been noticed. I cannot comply with his request that it might be transmitted to the Society, without explaining some particulars which gave rise to this treatise. When I first saw the account, which he sent to the Society, of a *Roman Villa* which he had discovered near *Mansfield*, I communicated to him some few sentiments of mine, on which I grounded an opinion, though I was quite unacquainted with the country, that this *Villa* was probably the residence of some military Roman commander, and that there was probably some Roman camp or station, or some military Roman road running near it. This did not by any means appear by his answer to be the case. And yet it still seemed to me improbable that it should be otherwise.

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C c

Having

Having had an opportunity last year of waiting on Major Rooke, and viewing this *Roman Villa*, I was first struck with the appearance that *Mansfield* was probably a Roman station, from whence the *Villa* was not above a mile distant, and indeed was in sight of it; and I thought I saw traces of some Roman roads running near it. On viewing the *Villa* itself (which I found well worth the view) I saw a post still nearer it, which had all the appearance of a Roman camp from its form, and other circumstances; but on enquiry from Major Rooke he assured me there was no such thing there, nor Roman road in the neighbourhood. However, having communicated to him my sentiments, grounded on observations which I had occasionally made on Roman roads, stations, and camps, from whence I had formed a decided opinion, that there was an uniform system of such roads, camps, and stations, throughout the kingdom, and all connected with each other, not only by principal military roads, but by many others also, forming cross communications with each other, as *diverticula*, I entreated Major Rooke to look a little more narrowly into this point; and ventured to prophesy, that, on searching further into this particular spot, which wore the name of *Pleasley Wood*, he would not only find *that* to be a Roman station, but would probably from thence be able to trace a connected chain of them through the country. The time and the season not allowing of it *then*, he promised to do so as he had leisure and opportunity; and the result of his labours is contained in the treatise herewith enclosed.

I hope I shall be forgiven if I take this opportunity, fortified by this experiment of the truth of my ideas on the subject, humbly to submit it to the Society, whether they would not think it adviseable to direct some encouragement to be given to

an

an investigation of all the Roman roads, camps, and stations, throughout the kingdom, county by county, for the purpose of ascertaining the connected military system and principles on which they were formed; which may lead to a curious discovery of the extent and situation of the many Roman towns, camps, and villas, which must have existed in this country during the period of four hundred years, for which Britain was a very distinguished member of the great Roman Empire. Such investigation gradually, but regularly, pursued, would neither be expensive nor laborious; there being very little doubt, but that there are ingenious persons in every county, who, on such a wish being properly communicated to them by the Society, would readily second those wishes, and, with very little assistance in having plans or drawings made by order of the Society, where the accounts transmitted might appear to justify it, produce in time a very compleat account and system of these military Roman remains as well as of other *municipia*, and perhaps *baths* and other vestiges of Roman magnificence.

I beg pardon for the liberty I have taken of suggesting thus much, and for detaining you so long upon this subject; but I thought the explanation necessary to elucidate the occasion of the treatise transmitted from Major Rooke, and I also thought the subject not unworthy the attention of the Society. It will give both Major Rooke and me great pleasure, if they should be of the same opinion, or if they should think what has been offered in any degree deserving their notice.

I am, with regard,

S I R,

your most obedient

humble servant,

GEO. YONGE.

*To the Right Hon. Sir George Yonge, Bart.*

DEAR SIR,

*Woodhouse, May 3, 1788.*

HAVING been honoured with your judicious observations on Roman camps, stations, and roads, and the great probability there was that they were to be found in this neighbourhood, determined me to explore with more attention the country round Mansfield, and particularly that part of Sherwood Forest between Mansfield and Southwell, the latter being the nearest Roman station we have any knowledge of in this part of the county, and from whence, it is natural to suppose, they took their rout to Pleasley Park, and so to Chesterfield, on which I shall offer a probable conjecture by and by. In this tract I have discovered some Roman camps almost perfect, others with only part of the ditch and vallum to distinguish them, which with their situations, evidently prove them to be Roman.

I should have done myself the honor of communicating to you the discoveries I formerly mentioned long before this, had not bad weather and indisposition greatly retarded my researches. We had so much snow in March that there was no going out; and the beginning of April I had the rheumatism, which obliged me for some days to stay at home. However, I have made the most of my time since, and from the remains of Roman camps I have met with in this neighbourhood, there is





Fig. 1.

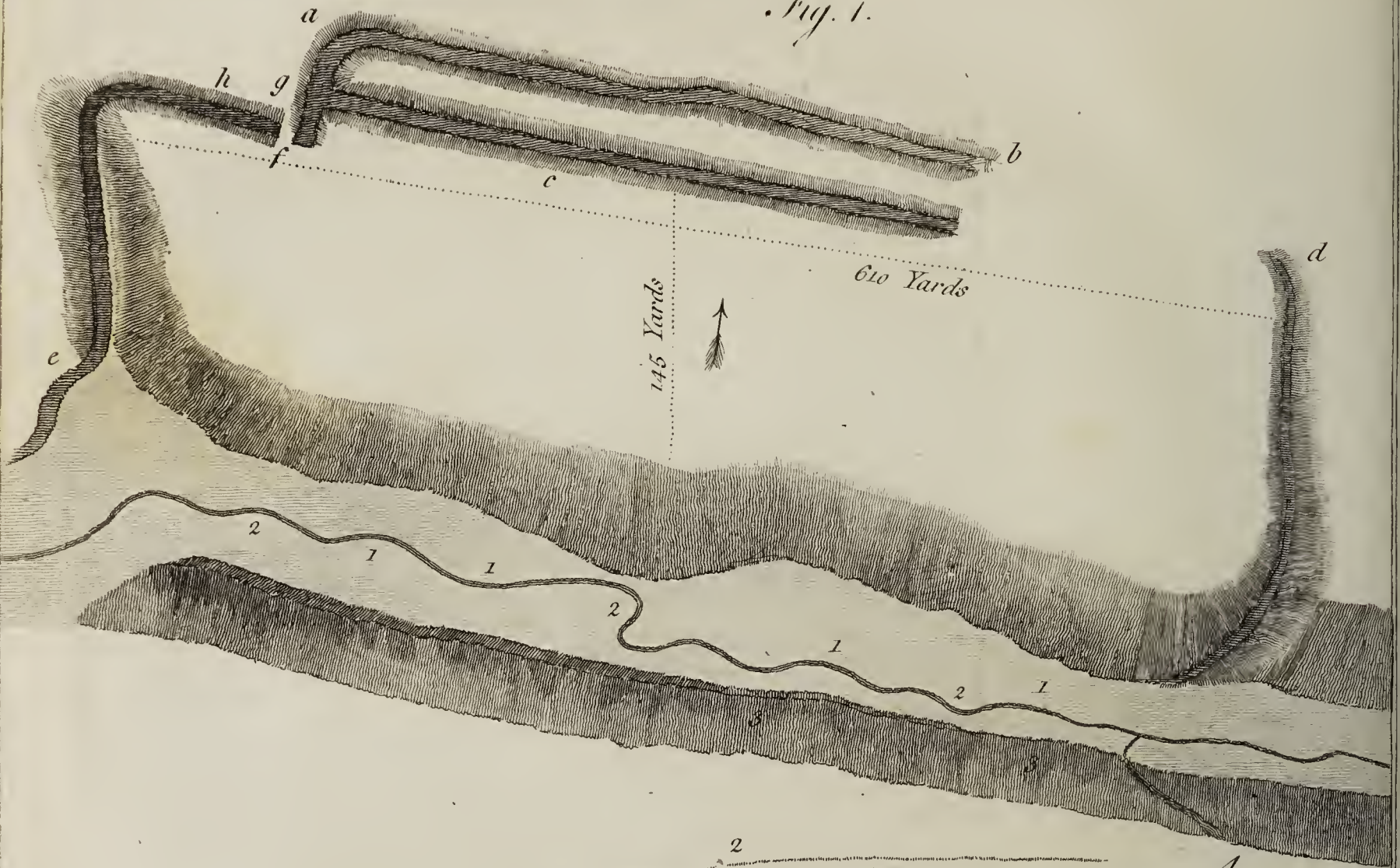
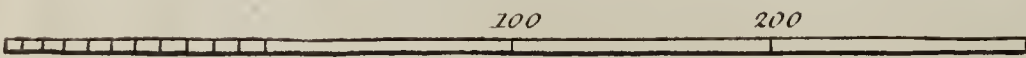


Fig. 2.



no doubt but that the Romans were well acquainted with this part of Nottinghamshire, and this discovery proves your superior judgment in these matters. For further particulars, I must refer you to the description and plans of these camps, to which I have added an account of some antiquities found in the Roman Villa since I communicated that discovery to the Society.

When I had the honor of seeing you here, you was of opinion that the Roman villae near Woodhouse had their *diverticulum*. It undoubtedly appears they had, though I have not yet been able to meet with that distinguishing mark of a Roman road, the elevated ridge. At the bottom of the field where the sepulchres were found, and where an old road formerly went, is a passage cut through a rock, and slopes down a steep bank to Pleasley water, where an old ford is now discernible, though it appears not to have been used for many years. From hence the road went across a little meadow, about fifty or sixty yards to the S. E. end of Pleasley Park. Here a deep ditch or hollow way goes slanting up a bank to the top of the hill, where there are evident marks of a Roman camp. (See plan Pl. X. fig. 1). On the N. side, where the wood is on a level with the adjacent grounds, is a ditch and vallum, the ditch 13 feet wide. They appear perfect 340 yards from (a) to (b). Parallel to these, at the distance of 22 yards, is another ditch (c), about the same width, but rather deeper; from (b) to (d) there are now very little appearances of a ditch or vallum, but from (d) a ditch slopes down to the meadow as already mentioned. The S. side is strongly secured by a steep bank, as is the W. end, where a ditch (now used as a road) slopes down to the end of the wood at (e). The entrance to the camp appears to have been at (f), where it might be easily defended, from the salient angles (g) and (h). The following references will more clearly explain

plain the situation : (N° 1) little meadows in the valley, (N° 2) Pleasley water, (N° 3), the bank at the bottom of the field where the sepulchres were found, (N° 4), the road cut through the rock as above mentioned [*a*].

This camp appears to have been strongly fortified by art and nature, in a well-chosen situation, near a river, and commanding extensive views. As it would contain a considerable number of men, the command would undoubtedly be given to an officer of high rank ; and I think it is not an improbable conjecture, that this general might have built the Roman villae, which evidently appear to have had a communication with the camp [*b*].

About a mile and a half E. of Pleasley Park, and at the end of Mansfield Woodhouse, is a little eminence, called *Winny* hill, where there are the remains of an exploratory camp. (See plan, Pl. X. fig. 2). The double ditch and vallum on the N. W. side are perfect, except where the road has destroyed part of the outward ditch ; the remaining parts from (*a*) to (*b*) are about 160 yards, the base of the vallum 16 feet, bottom of the ditch 6 feet. On the side (*c*) near a road, the vallum seems to have gone up the hill where a hedge has been planted upon it, at (*d*). It appears to have turned down by the side of a hollow way, where there is a steep bank on the opposite side, marked (*e*), which continues to the road. Here it probably joined the other ditch and vallum. N° 1, is where the road branches off ; N° 2, goes to Warfop, Welbeck, and Workfop,

[*a*] The plans of all the camps mentioned in this paper are laid down from the same scale, one hundred yards to an inch.

[*b*] Pleasley Park consists of 183 acres of thick underwood and trees, which made it difficult to trace out the camp.

*discovered in the neighbourhood of Mansfield Woodhouse.* 199

N<sup>o</sup> 3, to Edmestow and Allerton; N<sup>o</sup> 4, is a lane that goes about three hundred yards to a brook. From this camp the views are extensive to the N. and W.; that to the latter takes in the whole extent of Pleasley Park. As that camp is not above seven miles from Chesterfield in a straight line, there is great reason to suppose that it was connected with that post by a military road, though it has not yet been discovered.

The Rev. Mr. Pegge has traced a Roman road from Chesterfield, through Sir Henry Hunloke's Park at Wingerworth, to Derbentio or Little Chester near Derby, where it joined the Ikenild-street [c]. Now, Sir, I think it will appear, from the situations of the Roman camps I have lately discovered, that from Southwell the Romans had a chain of posts to Mansfield, (which probably was a station) to the camp in Pleasley Park, and so to Chesterfield, by which judicious disposition they would have a communication between two great Roman roads, the Fofs way, which is not far from Southwell, and the Ikenild-street.

Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana* [d], seems to think that Southwell was the *Ad pontem* of Antoninus; and what favours that opinion, are the coins and other antiquities found there. In November last I was present when some stones were discovered which appeared to have been part of a wall; near these were found some bits of painted stucco, two or three tesserae of a pavement, and pieces of Roman tiles, the sides raised exactly resembling those found in the Roman villa near Woodhouse. The Rev. Mr. Bristow, one of the worthy vicars of Southwell, who has a taste for antiquities, first made this discovery in

[c] Roman roads through the country of the Coritani...

[d] P. 439.

digging

digging to make a foundation for a building in his garden. The stones lay five feet below the surface, so that the depth of soil necessary to be removed for a thorough investigation would be attended with a considerable expence.

About three miles from Southwell on the right hand of the road to Mansfield, and near the village of Kirklington, is a hill called *Hexgrave Park* [e], where there are evident marks of an encampment, the ditch and vallum here and there perfect, but the plough has so totally destroyed them in other places, that no precise shape can be made out.

At about three miles and a half S. W. of this camp, and four from Southwell, on the left hand of the road to Mansfield, is a farm on an eminence called the *Combs* [f], where a Roman camp is plainly to be made out. See plan, Pl. xi. fig. 3. The ditch and vallum are perfect at the W. end and on most part of the S. side. At (a) it has been levelled for a garden: the farmhouse stands at the E. end at (b) here I found several fragments of Roman bricks and tiles, which the farmer told me they frequently turned up in ploughing. About 50 yards to the N. is a circular vallum of earth (c) near 40 yards diameter; part of it has been very lately destroyed by the plough.

This camp commands a very extensive view over Sherwood Forest, to the N. W. towards Mansfield, as that at Hexgrave does to the S. W. The ground about the Combs, which was part of the forest, has been inclosed to the extent of near two miles, of course many roads must have been destroyed. The great road from Southwell to Mansfield (eleven miles) goes through Farnsfield between the two camps, leaving that at Hexgrave three miles to the right, that on the Combs one mile

[e] An estate belonging to the archiepiscopal see of York. See Mr. Raftall's History of Southwell, p. 374.

[f] See History of Southwell, p. 366—372.

Fig. 6.



Fig. 3.

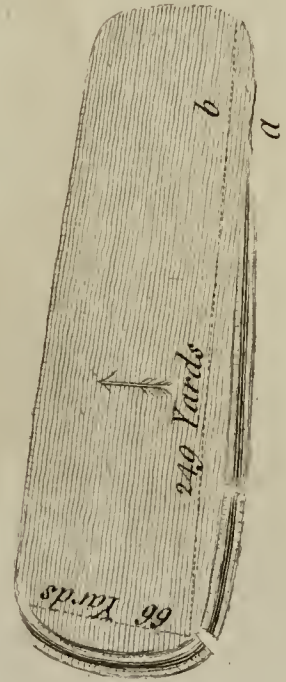


Fig. 5.

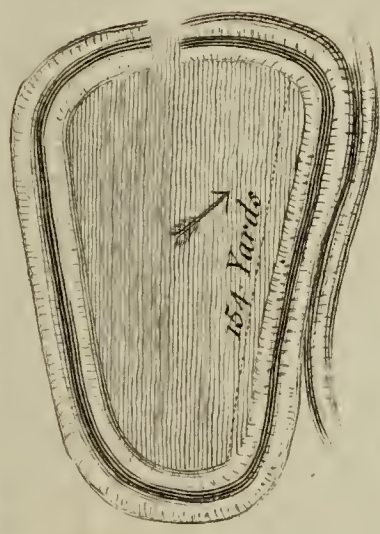


Fig. 8.

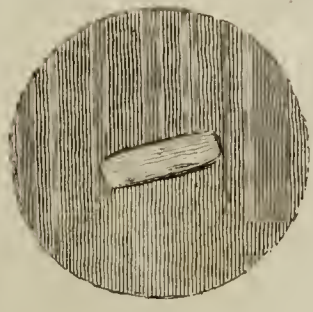
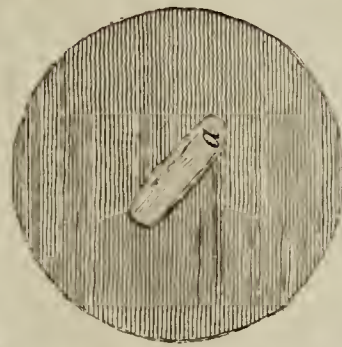


Fig. 4.

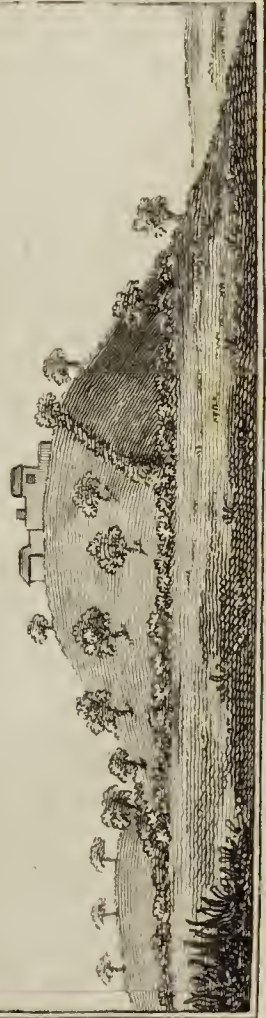


Fig. 9.



H. Stoughton del.

A. C. view of the Combs.

N.W. view of a hill in Sherwood Forest in the parish of Blidworth on which has been a Roman Camp.

Diaper. sc.





to the left [g]. We have reason to admire the judgment of the Romans in their choice of these camps: they not only command extensive views over the country through which they were to proceed, but are so situated that intelligence might be conveyed by signals, as they are not only within sight of each other, but are seen from the station at Southwell. The perspective view of the Combs, Pl. XI. fig. 4, will give an idea of the situation. About one mile S. W. of the Combs, and little more than a mile from the village of Oxon, is another small exploratory camp very perfect. See the plan Pl. XI. fig. 5. It goes by the name of *Oldox*, which probably means *old works*; the N. E. side, where there is a double ditch, is 154 yards; the outward vallum slopes down a bank of underwood, where part of it has been destroyed. Fig. 6, is a section of the double ditch and vallum. About 100 yards W. of this camp a hill rises in a conical shape; the top appears to be a large tumulus, from whence there is a very extensive view over the forest towards Mansfield: in a direct line W. of this tumulus are two more about half a mile asunder; that in the centre is 728 feet in circumference, the other 159 feet.

The next post the Romans seem to have taken possession of in their route to Mansfield, is on a hill within three miles of it. See the plan, Pl. XI. fig. 7. On part of the N. and N. W. sides of this camp, the ditch and vallum appear perfect. From (a) to (b), where the double ditch begins, is 127 yards; from (b) to

[g] The ingenious Mr. Raftall, in his *Antiquities of Southwell*, mentions these camps, but does not allow them to be of a Roman origin. He gives very plausible reasons for his opinion. But had this gentleman carefully examined the camp on the Combs, and discovered Roman bricks and tiles, I am satisfied he would agree with me in thinking that these camps were originally of Roman construction, whatever people might afterwards take possession of them.

(c) 140 yards: here the ditch is almost destroyed, but the vallum appears to have gone up the hill on the W. side. There are now little or no appearances of a ditch or vallum on the S. E. sides, owing to the hill having been enclosed and cultivated. On the N. side the ground slopes down to a morass marked (d) 30 yards wide, through which runs a little brook called Rainworth water (e), which divides Mansfield and Blidworth parishes. Close to the vallum are two tumuli (f) and (g) 35 yards asunder; the diameter of (f) was near 8 yards, that of (g) near 7: these I opened to the depth of near 6 feet from the top, and about 1 foot and half from the level of the natural soil. Here I perceived a thin body of smooth clay near 9 feet in length, and 2 feet 4 inches in width. See plan, Pl. XI. fig. 8. On this lay ashes and burnt bones. On the sides (as marked in the plan) the ashes were very black, owing I imagine to their not having been mixed with the burnt bones: at the end marked (a), I found three teeth. As there were no urns in these tumuli, I should suppose they were the sepulchres of private soldiers. Fig. 9, is a perspective view of this hill and the two tumuli. About two miles N. W. of this camp, and in a line with Mansfield, is *Bury hill*. I must here observe that there are two Roman camps (probably more) that are called *Bury hill*, one near Bicester in Oxfordshire, the other near Andover. There could not be a better situation for an exploratory camp than this Bury hill; it takes in a great extent of prospect; the W. view towards Derbyshire is bounded by the Peak hills to the S. and S. E. the camps at Hexgrave and Combs, and the tumulus joining to the little camp near Oxon, are plainly to be seen, but as the grounds have been layed out in the modern taste, and a good house built on the hill, many old roads have been turned, and banks and  
ditches

ditches levelled. There are now the remains of several hollow ways and old roads on this part of the forest, which have escaped the ravages of time. Mr. Horsley supposes that these cross roads of the Romans and the vicinal branches were not made so strong and durable, or so grand and magnificent, as the principal ways, and for this reason have been sooner and more generally ruined and lost [b]. Though we have not this guide to follow, yet it is sufficiently obvious that the above mentioned camps point out the route of the Romans towards Mansfield, where several Roman coins have been found. I have four now in my possession, one of Vespasian, and one of Constantinus very perfect; the other two appear to be Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

I think, Sir, it plainly appears from what has already been discovered, that the Romans had camps, and I may venture to say stations, in this part of Nottinghamshire, hitherto unnoticed. Roman roads are difficult to find in a country that has been often planted with wood, and at various times inclosed and cultivated: however, roads there must have been, and I think the forest between Mansfield and Southwell the most likely part to find one in.

I shall take this opportunity of mentioning a few antiquities I found in clearing out some of the rooms in the Roman villa, since I had the honor of communicating that discovery to the Society. In digging to the floor of a room, which from its situation I take to be the *Apodyterium* or stripping room, being joined to the hypocaust and cold bath, I found an instrument, which, from its construction and lightness, I should suppose to be the rubber which the Romans used to rub their skins with;

[b] Brit. Rom. Book iii. chap. 2, p. 390.

see Pl. XII. fig. *e.* (*a*). It is of a pale grey colour, the bottom smooth; the indented rim towards the lower part seems as if it was intended for fixing a cloth round it, when a more gentle friction was required than that of the Strigil or Pumex.

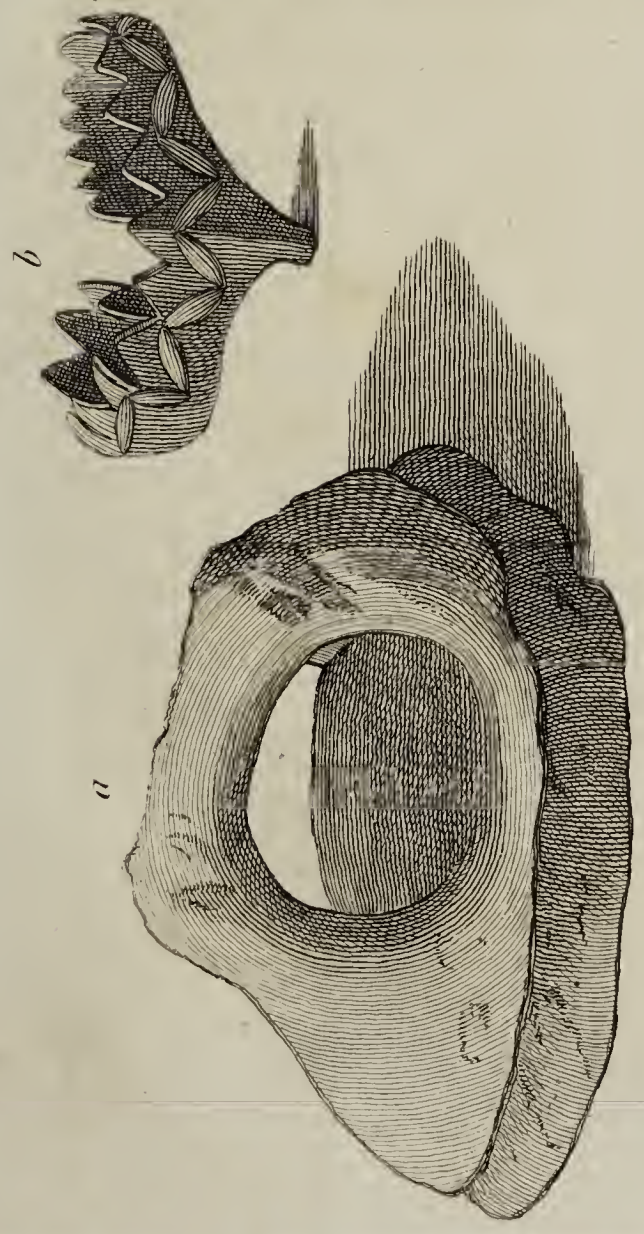
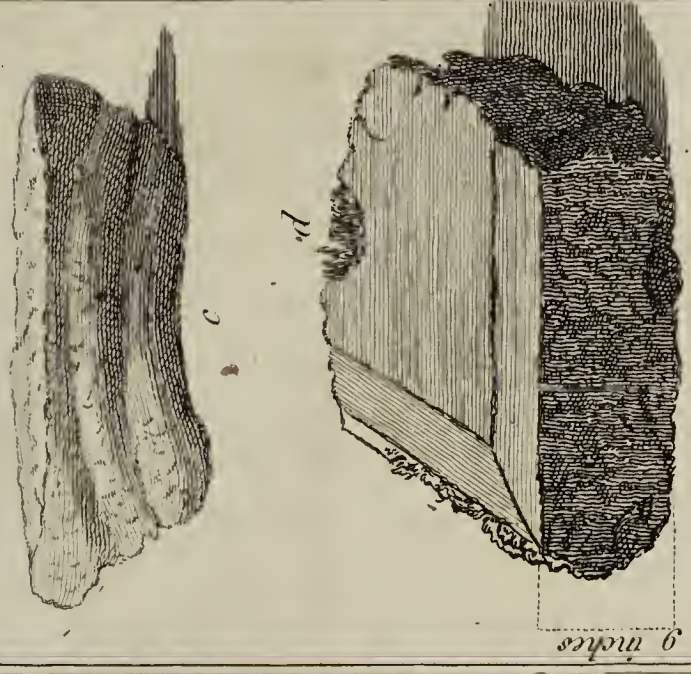
Governor Pownall, in his curious and learned account of the baths discovered at Badenweiler, gives a particular account of the use of this instrument. He says, “the Pumex acted as a kind of flesh brush or rasp; but the use of the Pumex stopped not here; it was prepared so as to polish the skin [*i*]. From this account, there is reason to suppose that this instrument of mine was intended for both purposes. Fig. (*b*) was found sticking to the coulter of a plough in a field near the villa: it is made of brass, and was probably used as a tibula, or some kind of ornament, it appears to have been bent. Both *a* and *b* are engraved of the original size. Fig. (*c*) seems to be part of the capital of an altar: it was found in clearing out the *sphæristerium*, or inner court of the *villa rustica*, near the two bases of altars mentioned in my account of that villa. I must here beg leave to observe, that there is a similar situation of a pedestal in the *sphæristerium* of the baths of Badenweiler, where Governor Pownall says, “is the pedestal on which, some suppose, a statue once stood: I am rather disposed to think it an altar [*k*].” He likewise takes notice of the place of another in the *sphæristerium* on the E. side of the baths. The opinion of so learned an antiquary on these pedestals favours my conjecture, that the bases in the inner court of the *villa rustica* are bases of altars.

Fig. (*d*), is a fragment of stucco floor, several pieces of which were found in clearing out the hypocaust at the S. E. end of the

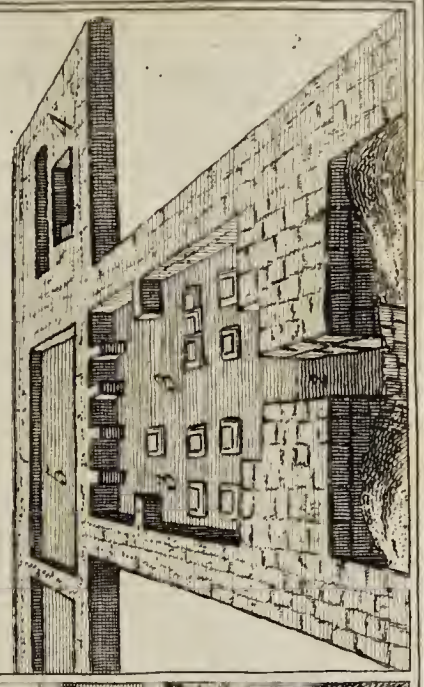
[*i*] Pownall's *Provincia Romana*, Appendix, p. 192.

[*k*] *Ibid.* p. 190.

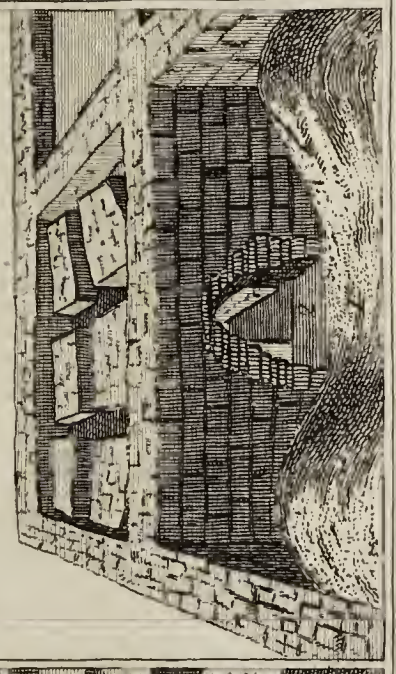
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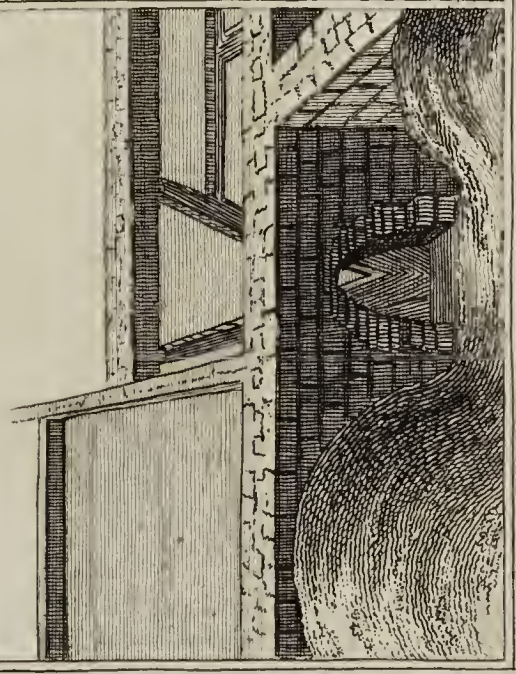
C



B



A



H. Cooke, del.

W. G. Mason, sc.

Antiquities at Mansfield Woodhouse.



*discovered in the neighbourhood of Mansfield Woodhouse.* 205

*villa rustica*. It appears to be a composition of pounded brick and lime : on the top is a thin coat of polished stucco, about a quarter of an inch thick. Cameron, in his account of the Roman baths [1], mentions a piece of stucco floor found placed upon tiles over the hypocaust in Caracalla's baths, three palms or nine inches thick, made of pounded brick and lime, and which had a smooth surface. From the description and print he gives of it, it exactly resembles both in thickness and composition the fragments found here.

As the construction of these hypocausts in the Roman villa will be best explained by perspective views, I have ventured to give drawings of them in Pl. XII.

(A) represents that at the S. end of the *villa urbana*, (B) that at the N. E. end of the *villa rustica*. These were evidently intended for heating the rooms. (C) is at the S. E. end of this villa, and appears to have been constructed for heating the *sudatorium* and *callida lavatio*.

N<sup>o</sup> 1, is where the fire was made, and where ashes were found ; N<sup>o</sup> 2, the arch through which the heat was conveyed to the flues ; N<sup>o</sup> 3, tiles upon which there appeared to have been pillars of stucco that had supported the floor ; N<sup>o</sup> 4, the little cold bath. N<sup>o</sup> 5, the *apodyterium* or stripping room.

Should you think these cursory remarks worthy of being communicated to the Society, I must beg you will do me the honour to lay them before that learned body in whatever shape you think proper.

I am, with great respect,

Dear Sir,

your most obedient, and

most obliged, humble servant,

H. R O O K E.

[1] P. 157.

XIX. *Description of some Druidical Remains on Harborough Rocks, &c. in Derbyshire. In a Letter from Major Rooke to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary.*

Read Nov. 6, 1788.

REVEREND SIR,

*Woodhouse, March 19, 1788.*

**B**EING last summer on a visit to my worthy friend Mr. Gell of Hopton, in Derbyshire, whose seat is in the parish of Worksworth, he was so obliging as to shew me some curious remains of British antiquities. I shall beg leave to trouble you with the description of these and some others of the like nature, and, if thought worthy of being communicated to the Society, must beg you will do me the honor to lay it before them. I am, with great regard,

Dear SIR,

Your most obedient, and  
obliged humble servant,

H. R O O K E.

The caves we meet with at the foot of high craggs in many parts of the Peak, are undoubtedly very ancient, and were probably temples. Mr. Bryant tells us “ that men repaired in the  
“ first ages, either to the lonely summits of mountains, or else  
“ to





Fig 1.

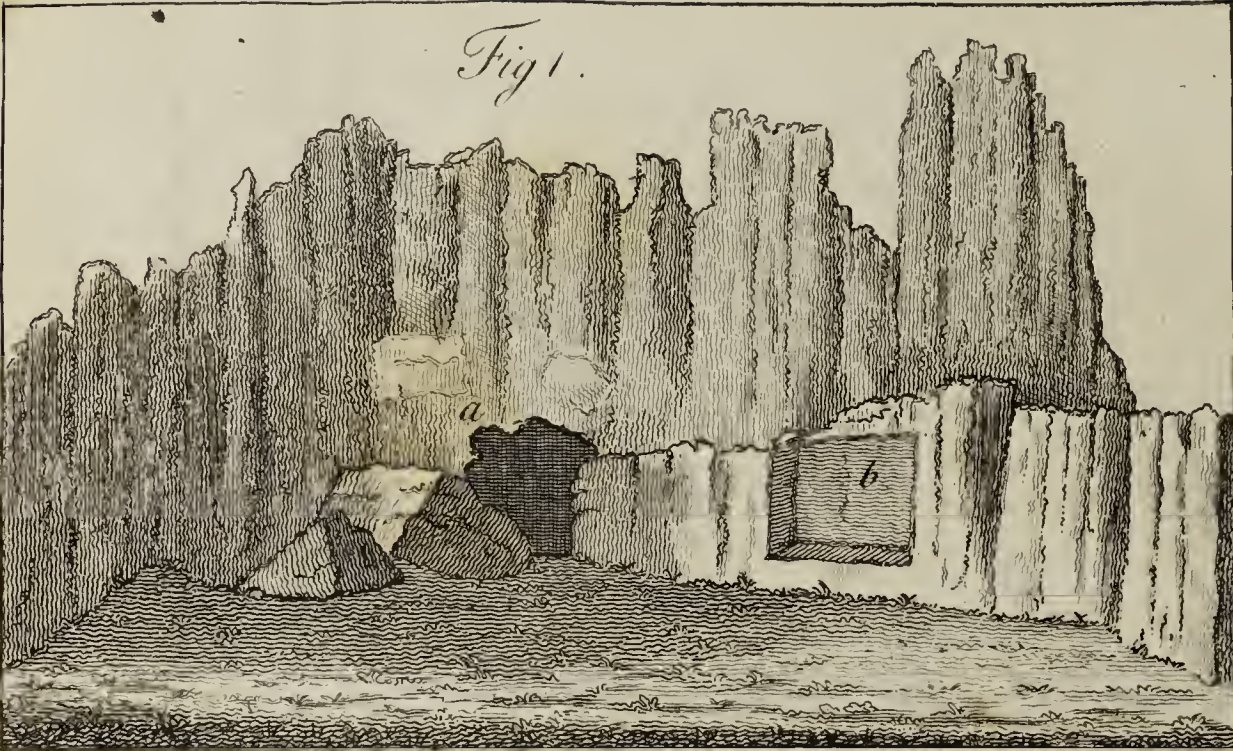


Fig 2.

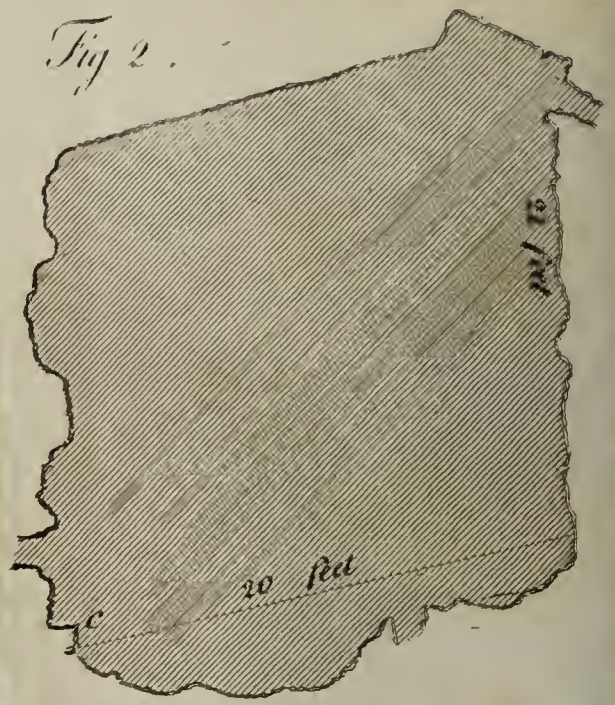
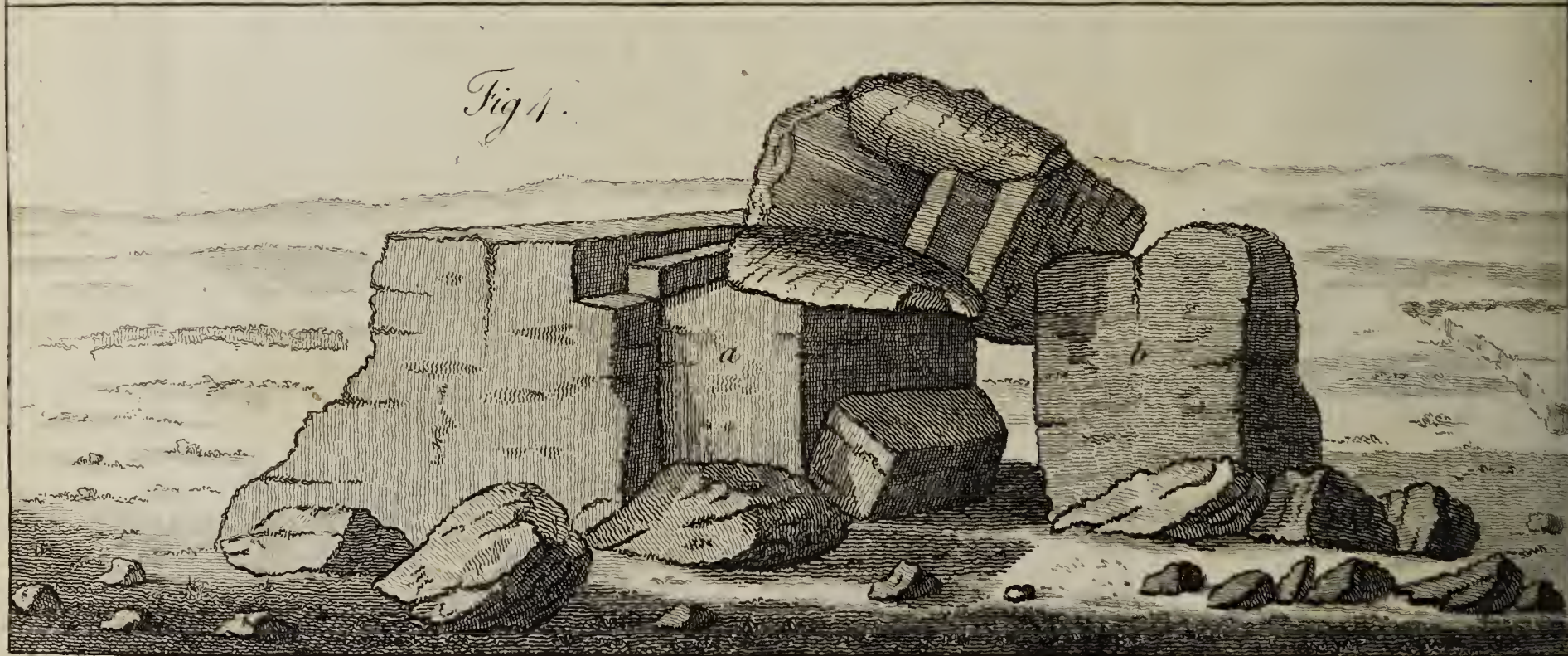


Fig 3.



Fig 4.



H. Roche. del.

Harborough Rocks.

W. J. 1820.

“ to caverns in the rocks, and hollows in the bosom of the earth,  
“ which they thought were the residence of their Gods [a].”  
The same learned author likewise says, “ that among the Per-  
“ sians most of the temples were caverns in rocks, either by  
“ nature, or artificially produced. They had likewise Puratheia  
“ or open temples, for the celebration of the rites of fire [b].”

The worship of the Sun is the most ancient, and in the progress it made to the north would of course arrive in Britain, where it was adopted by the Druids.

On the moors about a mile and half from Hopton, on a hill commanding an extensive view, is an assemblage of rocks, called Harborough Rocks, (Pl. XIII. fig. 1), represents that part of them in which there is a cave, marked (a). Near the entrance at (b) is a seat cut in the rock. Fig. 2, is a plan of the cave, part of which seems to have been hollowed out by art. In one corner at (c) is an aperture at the top, which is now partly filled up by a large stone, that appears to have fallen in. On the top of these rocks, (Pl. XIII. fig. 3), are some very singular Druidical monuments, never hitherto taken notice of: (a) is a rock cut in the shape of a great chair, height at the back 3 feet 10 inches, the seat 3 feet deep; (b) is another view of the same chair. The stone (c) is 4 feet 6 inches high; near the top is a seat, to which there are three steps; marked 1, 2, 3; the seat is 2 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 3 inches. Near to this is another stone (d), 4 feet high, with a basin on its top 1 foot diameter. At the bottom of the basin is a hole cut sloping through the stone at (e), evidently for the purpose of letting out the water.

[a] Bryant's Analysis of Antient Mythology, vol. I. p. 217.

[b] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 222.

Another rock chair, which much resembles this on Harborough Rocks, is on Stanton moor [c]. The engraving, Pl. XIII. fig. 4. represents it in its present situation; but I was told that about thirty years ago it stood upright, supported by the two stones (*a* and *b*), and was one night thrown down by some mischievous people; that it was called Thomas's chair, and supposed to be very ancient: this is the only traditional account I could get of it. Near to it is a fragment of a stone, which appears to have had a rock basin on its top; the other part has been carried away by the mason for building, which will soon be the fate of the rest of the Druidical monuments on this moor.

There is something peculiar, and worthy of notice, in the situation of this chair. It stands at the S.W. end of a little plain, at (*a*) in the plan (Pl. XIV. fig. 1.) about 167 paced yards in length, which seems to have been formerly levelled, as it has a very different appearance from any other part of this rugged moor. At 67 yards N. E. of the chair, towards the middle of the plain stands the rock idol (*b*), called *Andle-stone*, as mentioned in a former paper [d]. This I have since more accurately examined, and find there has been a circle of stones round it; the remains of four are now visible, the rest have been broken and carried off. Near the idol are two tumuli of earth and stones, (*c*) (*d*) 36 yards in circumference. At the N. E. end at (*e*) are the remains of a large tumulus; another stands on the W. side at (*f*), and a smaller one (*g*), on the E. The whole of this level spot appears to have been inclosed with a bank of earth and large stones.

[c] I should not have omitted this curious piece of antiquity in my account of the Druidical monuments on Stanton moor, which I had the honor to lay before the Society, could I then have been certain of its antiquity.

[d] *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 100.

Fig. 1.

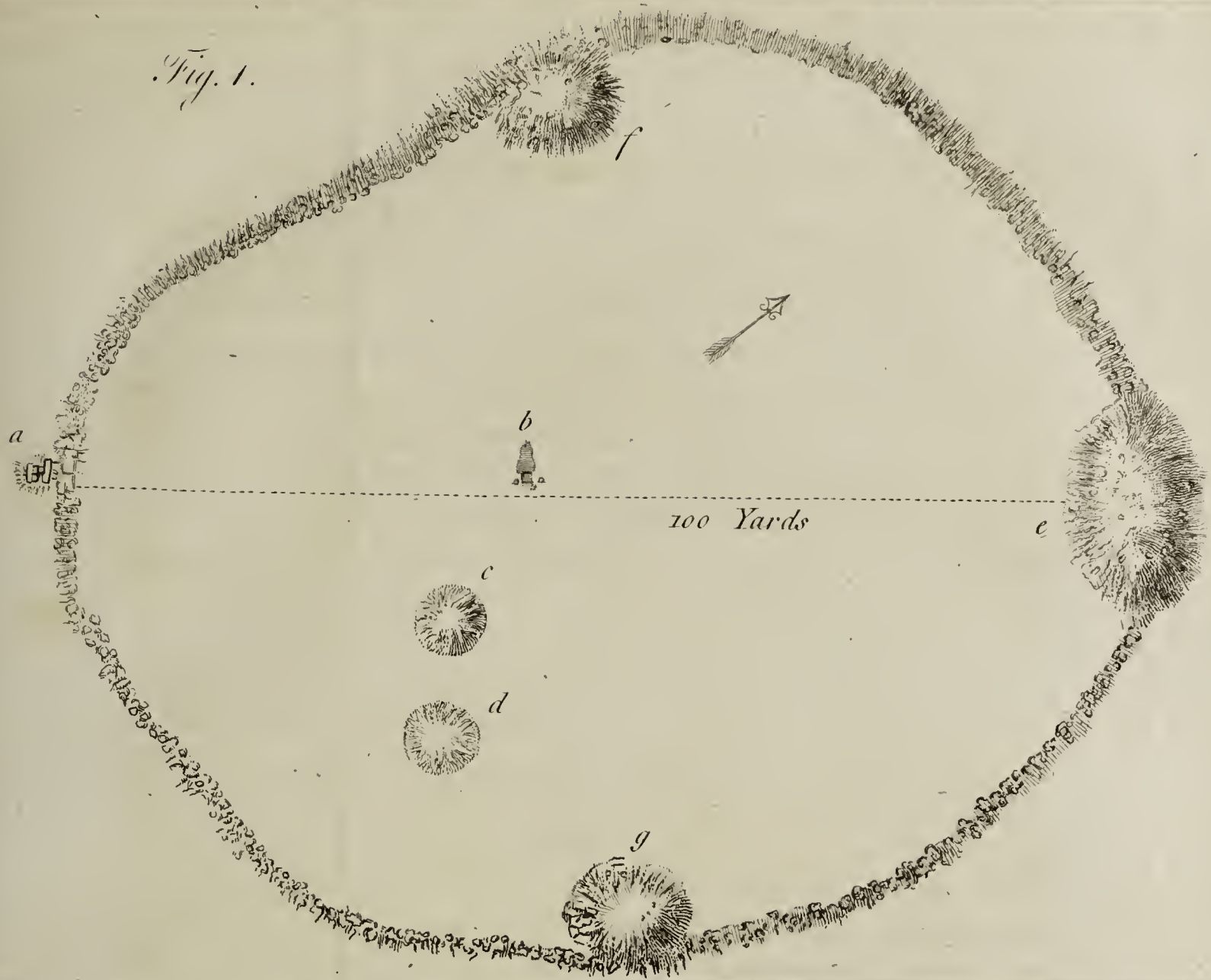


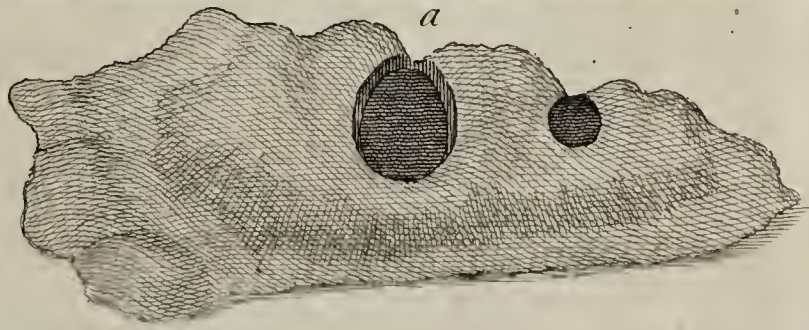
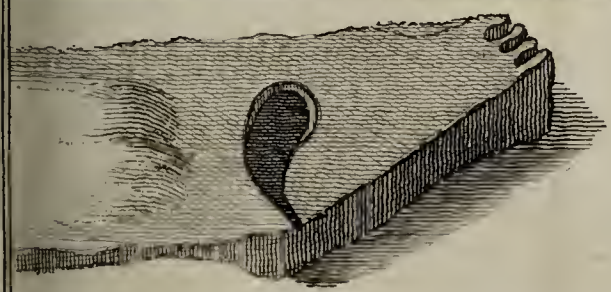
Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.





Doctor Borlase tells us, “ that this idolatry of worshipping  
 “ rude stones erect may be reckoned to have infected much the  
 “ greatest part of the world, especially those parts which had  
 “ any communication with Syria, Egypt, or Greece, and may  
 “ with equal reason be supposed to have occasioned the erecting  
 “ many of those large stones which are to be found in Britain,  
 “ where the ancient Phœnicians and Grecians had frequent re-  
 “ forts [e].” We find likewise, besides tall stones erect, “ that  
 “ the ancients had stone deities of various shapes; the Phœni-  
 “ cians made the image of the sun of one black stone, round  
 “ at the bottom its top ending either in the shape of a cone or  
 “ wedge [f].”

This rock idol on Stanton moor plainly appears to have a conical shape, and it is not improbable but that it might have been intended for the image of the sun. That it is an idol, there cannot be, I think, the least doubt, and consequently there is reason to suppose that this inclosed plain in which it stands was consecrated to religious purposes. Another shaped rock, (see Pl. XIV. fig. 2), which I may venture to say is a rock idol, stands upon a little knoll about two hundred yards from Harborough rocks.

At the S. end of Hartle moor, which joins Stanton moor, is an assemblage of rocks, on a hill called *Dutwood Tor*, (see Pl. XIV. fig. 3.) Near the top is a semicircular cavity (a), 6 feet diameter, with a flat rock canopy (b) hanging over it. The cavity plainly appears to have been partly formed by art; round the edge at (c) are holes which seem to have been intended for rails. This recess commands a very extensive view, and the situation is well adapted to the superstitious rites of augurations. On the

[e] Antiquities of Cornwall, chap. ii. p. 162.

[f] Ibid. p. 168.

top of this Tor are three rock basons which plainly appear to have been cut with a tool, (Pl. XIV. fig. 4); the stone (a) is 21 feet in length.

A little to the eastward of this Tor are three Druid circles of stones, near to which the mill-stones were found, as mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Pegge, in the 6th volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 22.

There is, I think, great reason to suppose that these rock-chairs were the occasional seats of the officiating Druid, who being near the rock-bason might conveniently consult the pure water or snow collected therein.

It is remarkable that these seats are no where to be met with but among Druidical remains: the rock basons in particular seem to be connected with them. That curious stone called Cair's chair, in Cair's work, near Hatherfage, has a rock bason close to the seat, as mentioned in a former paper, which I had the honor to lay before the Society [g].

I must beg leave to observe, that no place affords a more ample field for the antiquary's investigation than the uncultivated parts of the Peak. There is hardly a crag, hill, or an assemblage of rocks, where the remains of British or Roman antiquities are not to be found.

[g] *Archæologia*, vol. VII. p. 176.



XX. *Account of Antiquities in Lancashire. In a Letter to George Allan, Esq. F. A. S. from William Hutchinson, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read Nov. 27, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

**A** GREEABLE to my promise, I send you drawings of the Lancashire remains I mentioned to you some time ago, with a short account taken from my minutes.

In the beginning of July 1785, being upon an excursion into Lancashire, I was led to view the British remains in the parish of *Warton*, about eight miles from Lancaster; my curiosity being greatly excited by the accounts given thereof in conversation with Robert Gibson, Esq. who for some months in the summer makes Yelling the place of his residence, on account of the copper-works he is projecting there.

Mr. Jepkinson, who conducts a great seminary at Yelling, where he teaches the languages, conducted us through the scenes of antiquity with peculiar attention and pleasure. At his house he shewed us two urns which his work-people reco-

vered from kairns levelled down within his new inclosures on the skirts of Warton Crag. One of the urns was damaged by the workmen, the other is intire: each contained ashes and fragments of bones burnt black. They are of coarse pottery, of a pale brown or earth colour, and seem to have been moulded and raised with the hand, and not on a wheel. The metal is porous, had endured a very slight degree of fire, or was baked in the sun; each would contain three pints. The second is represented in Pl. XV. fig. 1. only the broken vase had not the rib, as delineated. They were placed in the centers of circular kairns of a conical figure, composed of pebble stones; were secured in a small inclosure made of flat stones set on edge, forming a coffer; the mouth of each urn was covered with a small flat stone, and the coffer with a large blue flag. It is to be observed the kairns were not composed of such stones as were to be had from the rocky surface of the adjoining hill, but of pebbles gathered from the channel of some brook, or broken foil.

We have no doubt our British ancestors had the custom of burning the deceased in very distant antiquity, and probably to them belong the remains now described. The adjacent grounds at the foot of Warton Crag contain innumerable barrows or tumuli, of small dimensions, and an oblong figure, composed of earth. Many have been opened by Mr. Jenkinson, but no human remains, arms, implements, or urns, were discovered therein. The bodies which they covered probably fell in battle at different periods, and were interred without the accompaniment of such articles as were found in the larger tumuli. Many kairns, such as contain the urns, are disposed around the hill, and remain unopened.

The

*Fortifications on Warton Crag, Lancashire.*

*Fig. 1.*



*Rockingstones.*





The etymology of the name of Warton has been variously conjectured upon; and from the fortifications we are about to describe, with the kairns and tumuli before noted, Mr. Jenkinson is pleased to adopt the common acceptation; and thinks the place took its name from *Werre* (Teutonic), this being the frequent scene of warfare. We beg leave to mention a conjecture, that the name of this place may be of the most remote antiquity, and derived from the sages who inhabited the hill with the British tribes. The appellation of *Weird* was given to the British wizzards, or wise men, who possessed and practised divination; to which those ages of ignorance and superstition, and uncultivated people were particularly subject; so that conceiving the name of the place to be *Weird Town*, it would express it to be the town or residence of the sages and oracular priests.

Warton Crag is a lofty conical eminence, terminating obtusely, in height near 1000 feet above the level of the sea, in the bay called by Ptolemy the Bay of Morecamb. The ascent from the north is gradual, by a ridge of land; on every other side the cliffs are rugged and almost perpendicular, so that the summit of the hill is unaffailable but from the northern quarter. The crown of the hill forms a plain upwards of 200 paces diameter, of a circular form. In order to improve this natural strong hold, and indeed to render it impregnable, the Britons had erected three walls. The first, or uppermost wall, runs from the brink of the cliffs, on the south-east point, where the eminence begins to slope to the northward, along the edge of the plain, forming an extensive area, almost circular; the cliffs comprehending 300 paces, and the wall 336 paces. The ruins of this wall fill ten paces in width, and where the facings of both sides of the wall are discovered, it shews ten feet in thickness.

ness. There are two gates or openings in this wall about six paces wide, and nearly at equal distances, dividing the 336 paces of wall into three portions. No mortar has been used in this or any of the walls of the fortrefs. The surface of the area is rugged, and in most parts rocky. Towards the south-west side, on the highest part, is the ruin of a small square hut, where it is said a beacon used to be fired. Near the north-east gate or opening, is a large circular cavity, about twenty paces diameter, which we apprehend was a reservoir for water. From the uppermost circumvallation, at the distance of twenty paces, a second wall commences at the edges of the inferior cliffs and precipices, and runs parallel with the former wall. The ruins of this wall are considerably less than the other. There are two gates or openings in the second wall, not opposite to those of the inner one, but incling more to the north and west. At the distance of forty paces, is a third or outward wall, also commencing at the edges of the cliffs, and running parallel to the other walls. The ruins of this wall are not so immense as those of the uppermost, though they are much more considerable than those of the middle wall. In this outward wall there are three gates or openings, one near the center, commanding the ridge of the hill by which the fortrefs was most accessible; and two side gates almost parallel to those in the uppermost wall. Not far from this outward vallum are scattered innumerable small tumuli of the oval figure. The variation of the gates gives us an idea of the engineer's military skill who projected the works; for if an enemy by a column could force the outward gate, they must extend their front, or expose the flank of the column, in order to approach the gates in the second wall, and likewise the third; and thereby give the  
besieged

besieged are advantage over them, as they lay open to troops fighting with missile weapons under cover of their walls; for the slope of the hill is such, that men who lined the upper walls looked down upon the balliums or spaces between all the walls, and could command them with their instruments of war.

From the area you have an extensive sea and land prospect, commanding the chief part of the land of Furness on the one hand, and all the vale of Burton with Ingleborough and the chain of mountains to the north and east. This fort could annoy the Roman stations of Lancaster, Overbarrow, and Watercrock; and probably here our British heroes maintained their liberty for a considerable time, in that dreadful state of invincible virtue, indefatigable labour and hardship, and desperate bravery spoken of by Tacitus, and the Roman writers, in a language injuriously descriptive of barbarism and savage manners.

On a range of rocks a little way to the north-west of the fortifications and much below them as to elevation, are three rocking-stones, placed in a right line north and south, at equal distances, forty feet asunder (Pl. XVI.). In this station they could be seen at a great distance northward and westward, and are within sight of the place of a rocking-stone on the hill above Cartmel in Furness, cross the bay. The center stone is the largest, about 8 feet in height, and thirty in circumference. To the West, a little lower, on another ridge of rocks, are other three rocking-stones, placed in a lineal direction, but not at equal distances; these latter are smaller than the others. Innumerable basons appear in the rocks, where probably lustrations were anciently performed,

On the edge of Silverdale Common, at a little distance from Warton Crag, is another rocking-stone of large size, being in height ten feet, and in circumference 37 feet: it stands on the brink of a sharp hill, and loses much of its astonishing beauty by being thrown off the equipoise; for, whilst it moved, it must have appeared ready to roll into a deep valley immediately below. The inhabitants called this the *Bowk-stone*, a corruption of *Becking-stone*. The rocking-stones, it is conceived by many, were used in divination; their vibrations declaring the oracle; but how the augury was performed, or from what maxim denoted or defined, we are totally ignorant. When one of these stones is pushed violently, it reverberates for a considerable time; and, beating upon the rock with its haunches, sends forth a deep and hollow sound, which may be heard at a great distance, like the shock of an engine in the iron founderies, which shakes the air with a groan, and seems to make the earth tremble. We were struck with an idea, that they were anciently used to give alarm to the adjacent country upon the approach of an enemy; and if the six stones mentioned were in motion at once, the noise would be heard cross the bay, and down the country many miles. How these masses were placed on such eminences on their point of equipoise, is not easy to determine, when the artificer knew no other mechanical power than that of the lever; but of those matters much has already been said by judicious inquirers. We shall only add to the foregoing description, that it must have been a curious spectacle to have beheld Warton Crag possessed by its armies; and the scenes of oracular superstition crowded by their votaries and officiating ministers. The ideas which



fill imagination are at once replete with astonishment and pity [a].

Besides the fortification on the hill, others of more modern ages and people appear in the vale. In one place, a square encampment; in another a circular area walled round, thirty paces in diameter, elevated considerably above the common level of the adjacent ground, and surrounded on all sides with a deep morass, except to the North-West, where a ditch is cut across a narrow neck of land leading to it. At the distance of about 100 yards are the remains of large walls, like a quay for shipping, built of freestone, which has been brought thither at the distance of several miles, the stone of the adjacent country being limestone. It seems as if the tide had formerly washed up the narrow gullies to this station, where the small shipping of the ancients might be moored with safety, under the protection of the circular fort or mole, which shews considerable strength.

A chain of square towers guard the sea-coast.

[a] At the distance of about a mile to the northward of the last mentioned rocking stone, on the southern inclination of a hill, are various large masses of stone, placed in an angular figure; but as no certainty could be derived from inspection, or any tradition or name obtained from the inhabitants to lead to probable conjecture, we must leave them in silence; though their very singular appearance assures us they were artificially placed in that figure, on some notorious occasion. In another place a very large stone is seen on a basis of rock on an elevated station. This seems to have been laid open by taking down the sides of the eminence and the loose earth, till the stone was wholly discovered with the plain on which it rests. Such labour was certainly performed to leave the stone a monument of some remarkable event, or as an object of worship.

Mr. Pennant, in his Tour, passing from Kendale to Lancaster, takes no notice of Warton, or any of the antiquities in its vicinity. West, in his Guide to the Lakes, calls the works on Warton Crag, *a square encampment*.

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This is a country hitherto little explored by the antiquary. Mr. Gibson and Mr. Jenkinson are the only people in the neighbourhood who have yet paid any attention to the local curiosities; and that degree of observation has only lately been attracted. Mr. Jenkinson's zeal for inquiries is now roused; and, as he is possessed of a very liberal mind towards strangers, with much learning, it is to be hoped more satisfactory discoveries will be made in this tract of valuable antiquity.

I have sent you herewith a kind of bird's eye view of the fort, the better to give you an idea of the situation of the walls, and the apertures or entrances. The magnitude of the subject cannot be conveyed. The second sketch shews you the situation of the rocking stones. Neither of the drawings are made by admeasurement; as I only paced the distances.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your obliged, obedient servant,

Barnard-Castle,  
12th Jan. 1788.

W. HUTCHINSON.

XXI. *Antiquities in Cumberland and Westmorland, by Hayman Rooke, Esq. in a letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, V. P.*

Read January 29, 1789.

My Lord, *Woodhouse, Dec. 30, 1788.*

I Have taken the liberty of troubling your Lordship with an account of some Roman antiquities I met with, last summer, in Cumberland; when I had the honour of being at Rose Castle. The Gentleman who permitted me to take drawings of these assured me that they had never hitherto been taken notice of. I shall, therefore, beg your Lordship will do me the honour to lay the memoir before the Society, should you think it worthy of their notice.

I am, with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and

Obliged humble Servant,

H. ROOKE.

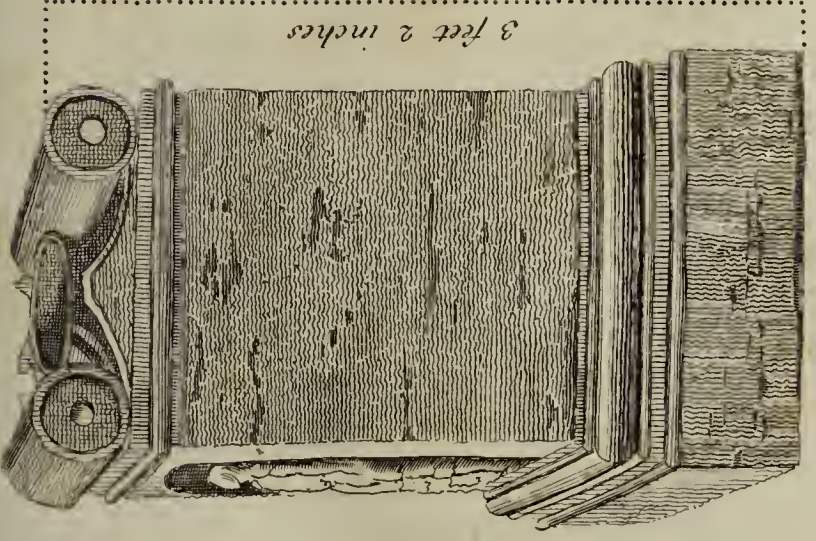
The altar marked (a) in Pl. XVII, was found about five years ago in the Roman Fort called [*Castle-Steed*, at *Old Penrith*]; which Mr. Camden supposes to be the *Petriana* of the Romans. In Antoninus's Itinerary it is called *Voreda*; and Mr. Horsley takes it to be *Bremetenracum* [a]. As this gentleman has given a plan of the fort, I shall only mention the inclosed spot where it was found. It appears to have been an oblong square, 20 yards by 9; the foundation of the wall is now visible on the east side of the fort, near the vallum, on which there are two tumuli; these are not in Mr. Horsley's plan.—The altar was discovered by some labourers, in digging for stones, about one foot under ground. The inscription appears legible, though the five or six letters at the beginning of the sixth line seem to be a little doubtful. *ACTORIVS* may be designed for the name or names of the præfect who erected the altar. The following letters, I should think, may be read *libentissime vovit Pius Præfectus*: but the Society will be the best judges of this.—The altars (b) and (c) were found last year (1787) in making a drain in Scotch street, Carlisle. After removing near 7 feet of rubbish, the altars were discovered lying together on a hard bed of gravel. There is not the least appearance of there having been inscriptions on these altars; so that there is reason to suppose they never were finished. On each side of the altar (b) is an elegant figure cut in high relief, but now so mutilated that the features are not discernible; and part of the habit of figure (d) is difficult to make out. See the sides at (d) and (e).

If any conjecture may be made from these figures, they may help to explain the occasion of this altar's erection. Figure (d)

[a] *Brit. Rom. B. I. p. III.*



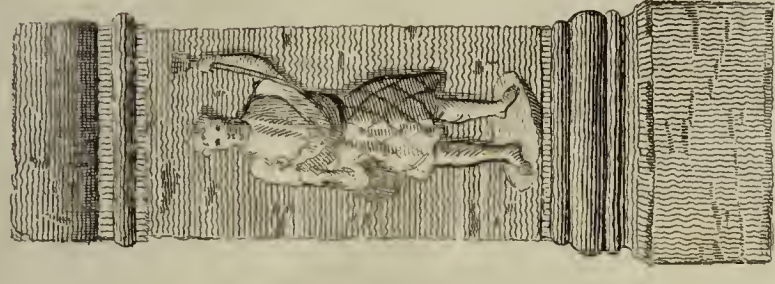
3 feet 4 inches



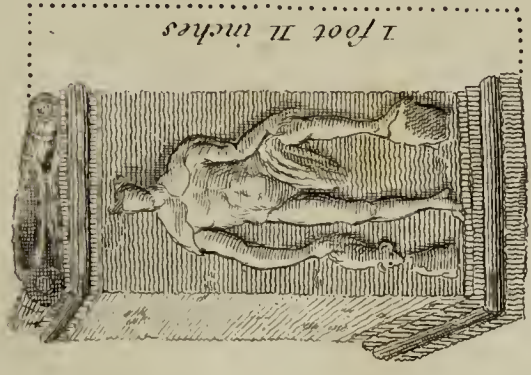
3 feet 2 inches



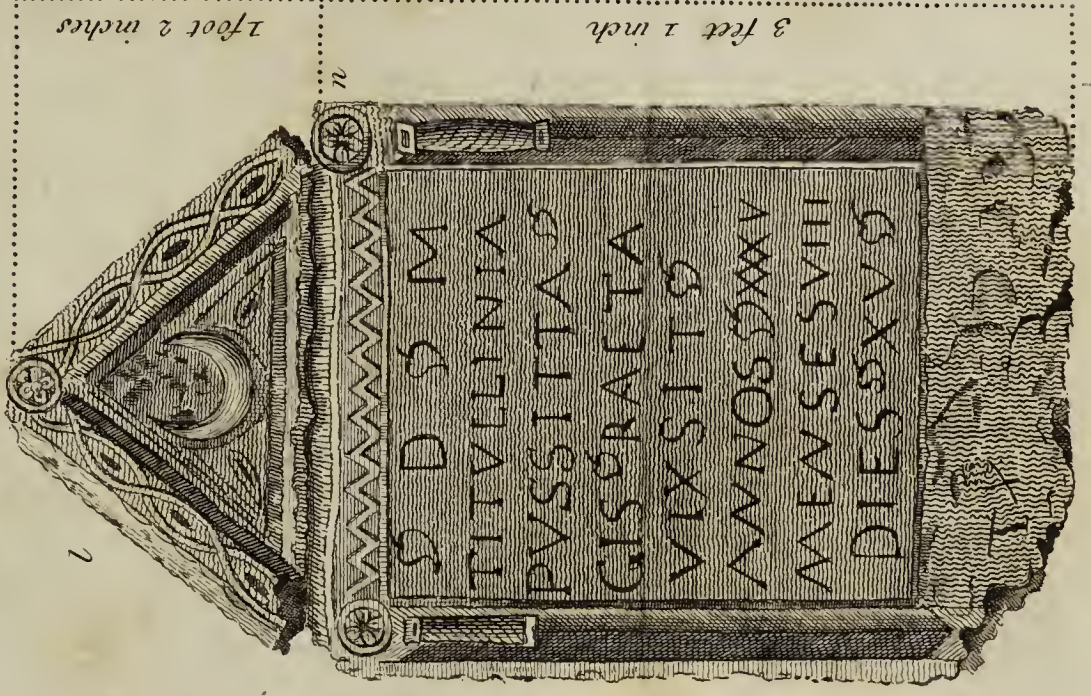
d



e

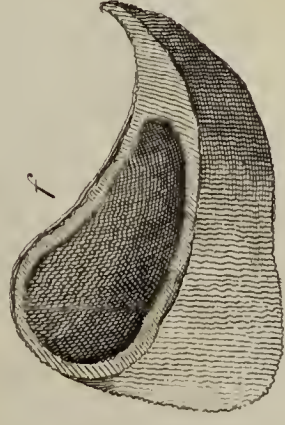


1 foot 11 inches

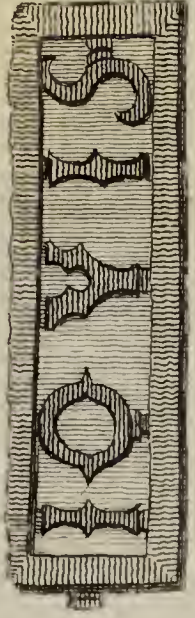


3 feet 1 inch

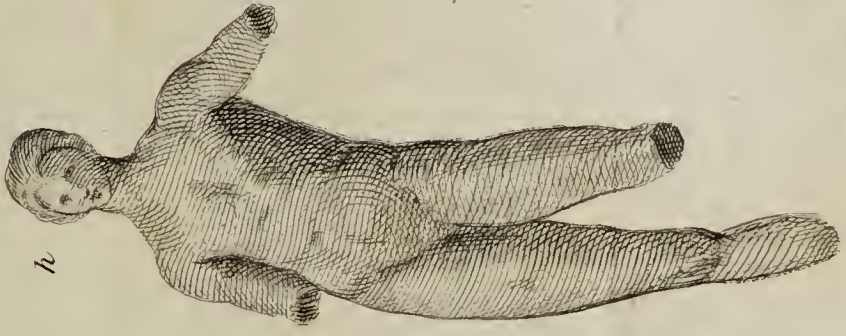
1 foot 2 inches



f



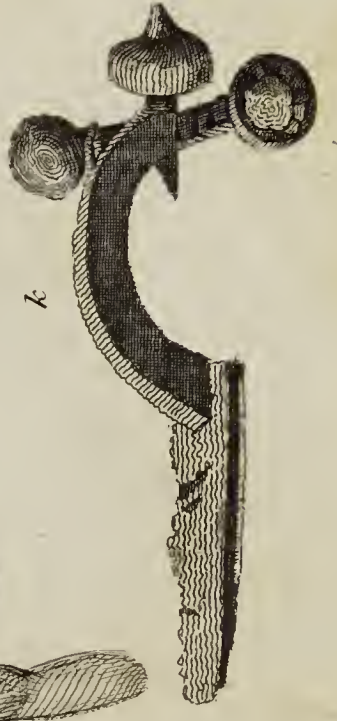
g



h



i



k



seems to have the *Cinctus Gabinus*, which evidently appears to be fastened by a knot on the breast [b], and therefore probably intended to represent a general who had distinguished himself in some particular manner, and by whom the altar might be dedicated on account of the victory he had obtained.

Kennett tells us, that the *Cinctus* was proper only to the consuls or generals, upon some extraordinary occasions, as denouncing war, burning the spoils of the enemy, devoting themselves to death for the safety of their army, and the like. The figure on the side (e) appears to be a soldier holding up a torch in his left hand as a signal in war, which was usual among the Romans, and may here allude to a battle, as above mentioned. In his right hand is probably a shield, which it somewhat resembles. The little altar (c) has a very singular figure cut in relief, which, from the horns on his head, and being almost naked, I should suppose might be intended for a rural Deity; probably Sylvanus. He seems to hold a ram in his right hand, with its head downward, as if going to be sacrificed; his left is on a globe which rests upon his knee, with his foot upon something like an altar, but the precise shape cannot be made out. This little altar is now at Carlisle, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Carlisle; the other is at Mr. Harrington's in Carlisle.

[b] The *Cinctus Gabinus* was nothing else but when the lappet of the gown, which used to be brought up to the left shoulder, being drawn thence, was cast off in such a manner upon the back as to come round short to the breast, and there fasten in a knot, which knot or cincture tucked up the gown, and made it shorter and straighter. Kennet, Rom. Ant. B. p. 241.

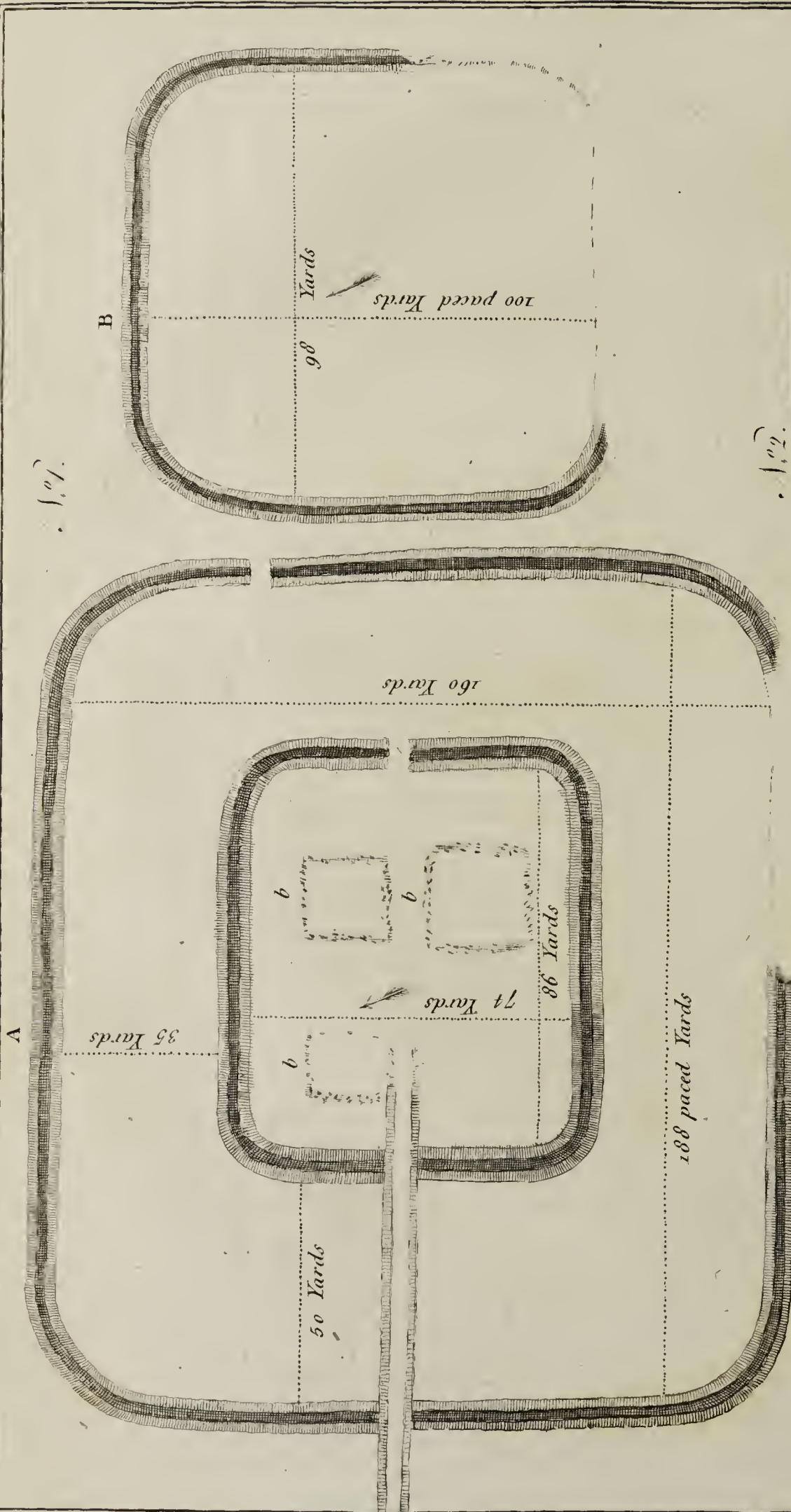
The following antiquities (*f, g, b, i, k*) are all of brass, and the size of the drawings. That marked (*f*) seems to have been part of a lamp, the top and socket of which is wanting. Figure (*g*) inscribed (*Jovis*) has a little rivet at each end, which probably fixed it to the pedestal of the little penate (*b*) which was found with it; (*i*) is a face of one of the Lares, (*k*) appears to be a part of a fibula. These were found at Brampton, about 12 miles from Carlisle, where Roman antiquities are frequently picked up. They are now in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Carlisle, to whom I am much indebted for his politeness on this and other occasions.

When I was at Netherby hall, the *Castra exploratorum* of the Romans, Sir James Graham was so obliging as to show me his very valuable and numerous collection of antiquities found on this remarkable station. As most of these have been taken notice of, I shall only mention one that was found last spring (1788) in making a plantation near the house; see the figure (*l*). When it was taken up, ashes and bits of burnt bones lay scattered about, but no urn. It appears to be a sepulchral monument of a woman, whose prænomen might have been *Titulinia* and her nomen *Puffitta*; but as this latter does not sound like a Roman name, and as the orthography in this inscription is not very correct (as appears in the word *vixit*) there is reason to suppose that *Puffitta* might have been intended for *Posita*, which answers to the sense of the inscription. *Raeta* may have been the name of the place where she lived. The sculpture of this monument is elegant; but the artist seems likewise to have been very negligent in this, having placed the *Patera* or Rose at (*m*) lower than that at (*n*) on the opposite side.





No. 1.



No. 2.



About two miles East of Rose Castle is Broad Field, an uncultivated common on Englewood forest, and in His Grace the Duke of Portland's manor. Here are three ancient works, within half a mile of each other, forming a triangle, said to be Roman camps. Two of them undoubtedly appear to be such; but the third I shall prove to have been an inclosed place, set apart for the sole purpose of sepulture [c].

(A) in N<sup>o</sup> 1, Pl. XVIII, is a plan of the largest of these camps, called *Castle-Heeds* [d]. It is situated on an eminence, commanding an extensive view towards the west, in the parish of Castle Sowerby, and within a quarter of a mile of the little hamlet of Stocklewath, where a brook divides the parishes of Castle Sowerby and Dalton.

The construction of this camp is singular: it is inclosed with a double ditch and *vallum*; in the centre are little banks of earth and undressed stones. See their positions marked (b). The outward *vallum* on the West side is 50 yards from the inward *vallum*; on the other side, the distance is only 35 yards. There is something very particular in the entrance; it begins at some distance from the outward *vallum*, and continues to the centre of the camp; on each side is a little *vallum* of earth, as described in the plan. On the inner *vallum* at (c) was a stone about two feet above the ground, as represented in N<sup>o</sup> 2, at (d). In digging round this stone, two more appeared erect, as at (b). On removing these, ashes were found under the large one, but no urn or burnt bones were to be seen. These stones evidently appear to have been placed there, as the *vallum* must have been partly formed when the stones were put up, they being a con-

[c] These works are all laid down from the same scale.

[d] This name is more usually given to those Castella that are regularly placed on Severus's wall.

siderable

siderable height above the level ground. (B) is a plan of the other camp called *White-stones*; it has only a single ditch and *vallum*, part of which on the south side has been destroyed. About half a mile N. W. from this camp is a square piece of ground, which has been inclosed with a little *vallum* of earth, erroneously called *Stoneraise-camp* [e]. See the plan (C). Two of the sides are now perfect, the length of each 67 yards: within this, there appears to have been another small inclosure, 34 yards by 22; from whence, I have been told, some hundred loads of stones have been taken for the repair of walls, &c; and, from the quantity that is left, people conclude that this must have been a Roman station, and that the stones are the remains of walls of the houses; but it will appear, upon a close examination, that the bank of loose stones marked (a) in the plan are the remains of four carns; their circular shapes are visible, but almost destroyed, by the labourers having scattered about the small stones in search of the large ones, which were found to be of more use. Near to these are two more defaced carns; two appear at (b); and three more, very distinct ones, at (c); the circular hole marked (d), which I opened, had no appearance of having been a carn; nor was there any thing distinguishable, except part of a flat stone, which appeared above the surface, as represented at (c), in N° 2. Being willing to examine the shape of this stone, I employed three men to clear away the earth, which when removed, (with many large stones that had been thrown in) it plainly appeared to have been shaped, and placed on a pavement as in the drawing (e) in N° 2. Near the narrow end of this stone, was another placed erect, near which

[e] I do not find that these camps have any where been noticed.

lay part of a handmill, see (a) in N° 4. This, when perfect, must have been of the same size and shape as that found among some Druidical circles at Dutwood near Hurtlefnoor, Derbyshire [g]. The turning over the great stone, to examine the pavement, required the efforts of three men. Its weight is supposed to be about three ton [b]. When removed, a thin coat of baked earth entirely covered the space on which it lay, [i]. On this was found a tooth, small bits of burnt stones and ashes. This floor was laid upon a body of clay three inches thick, which covered the pavement of flat stones. See the plan of the pavement at (e) in N° 3. These stones were taken up, and the ground examined to the depth of one foot and a half; here the men came to a skerry which covers the natural rock.

I must here beg leave to observe, that as carns and *tumuli* of earth and stones were sepulchres of the Britons as well as of the Romans, it appears to me very doubtful to which of the two this extraordinary sepulchre belonged. We are told, that the Druids burnt, and afterwards buried the dead. It was not unusual for the ancient Britons to place great stones on their carns and burying places, and we have here a very singular one, shaped like a coffin. Hand mills were used by the Britons and Romans. *Stoneraise*, the name given to these carns, favors the supposition of their being British. There is on the road to Kendal a heap of stones called *Dunmal Raise*. In Bourn's and Nicholson's Antiquities of Westmorland and Cumberland, is the following account of it. " *Dunmal Raise* is a large mountain, a great part " whereof is in the parish of Grafmere, Westmorland, over

[g] See Archæol. vol. VII. p. 19.

[b] Its length on the top 5 feet 10 inches, width 2 feet 4 inches.

[i] Specimens of which I have sent for the inspection of the Society.

“ which the highway leads, from Kefwick by Embleſide to Ken-  
 “ dal. It is ſo called from a great heap or *raiſe* of ſtones, by the  
 “ highway ſide, which divides Cumberland from Weſtmorland,  
 “ thrown together in ancient times, either by Dunmail ſome  
 “ time king of Cumberland, as a mark of the utmoſt border of  
 “ his kingdom, or by ſome other in remembrance of his name,  
 “ for ſome memorable act done by him there, or ſome victory ob-  
 “ tained over him [k].” — Neither of theſe I think could be the oc-  
 caſion of erecting this heap of ſtones; it is, moſt probably, the  
 burying place of Dunmail.—Should the ſepulchre I have been  
 treating of be thought to be Britiſh, it, moſt probably, was the  
 burying place of ſome conſiderable perſon, if we may judge  
 from the conſtruction of the ſtone floor, pavement, &c.—On  
 the other hand, we know that the Romans were, for a conſider-  
 able time, in every part of Cumberland; and that it was uſual for  
 them to have their burying places at ſome diſtance from their ſta-  
 tions. We are likewiſe informed that the Romans had a puniſh-  
 “ ment, which ſeems to have been proper for incendiaries, and  
 “ that was wrapping up the criminal in a ſort of coat daubed over  
 “ with pitch and then ſetting it on fire [l].” In this caſe it is to  
 be ſuppoſed, that no regard would be paid to their aſhes, by put-  
 ting them in urns; but, ſhould the malefactor happen to be a  
 man of ſome rank, it is not improbable but that his friends  
 might place a ſtone over his aſhes, which when covered with a  
 little earth, without the diſtinguiſhable *Tumulus*, his ſepulchre  
 would not be eaſily diſcovered.

Theſe conjectures I ſubmit to the better judgment of  
 the Society, whoſe opinion on this very ſingular ſepulchre  
 will, I am certain, be much more ſatisfactory.

[k] *History of Weſtmorland and Cumberland*, vol. I. p. 149.

[l] *Kennet, Rom. Ant.* part II. p. 118.



Bojire. Sc.

XXII. Observations on certain Stamps or Seals used antiently by the Oculists. By Richard Gough, Director.

Read Dec. 4, 1788.

AMONG the lesser articles of antiquity there is none which has given so much occasion for conjecture to the learned as the Inscriptions on the four sides of certain small square stones, which seem to have been used by the practitioners of physic, or the compounders of drugs.

One of these found at *Bath* in a cellar in the abbey yard, 1731, was shewn to this Society at that time and twice afterwards. Mr. Lethieullier gave them a cast of it in plaister, and in 1757 the stone itself was the property of Mr. Mitchell. It is square, of a greenish cast and perforated. The inscription of the four sides as follows :

1. T. IVNIANI THALASER  
AD CLARITATEM

2. T. IVNIANI HÖFSVMAD<sup>o</sup>V  
EC VMODELICTA AMEDICIS.

3. T. IVNIANI DΥΤΛVΜ  
AD VETERES CICATRICES.

T. IVNIANI CRSOMÆL  
IN M AD CLARITATEM

Mr. R. Forster shewed the Society, 1767, a plaister cast of another such stone which had only two sides, and was two inches square. It is not said where it was found ; but the inscriptions were as follow :

Q. IVL. MVRRANI MELI  
NVM AD CLARITATES

Q. IVL. MVRRANI. STACTV  
M. OPOBALSAMAT AD CAP.

Mr. Forster explained the first as a beauty wash or paint, and understands *Claritates* of clearing the complexion. He reads the second *Statum opobalsamatum*. *Stactè* he says is a fluid balm just drawn from the tree, and *Opobalsamum* the famous balm of Gilead or Mecca : so that the owner here recommends his drug as the fresh fluid ointment extracted from the true balm tree, and fit to anoint the head with, as the Romans were wont to do at sumptuous entertainments.

A stone



A stone very like the latter of these, and said to have been found at *Gloucester*, has been published in Haym's "Tesoro Britannico," with a Dissertation by Mr. Chishull. The inscription is as follows:

Q. IVL. MVRANI MELINVM AD CLARITATEM

Q. IVL. MVL. MVRANI STAGIVM OPOBALSAMATAD

*Stagium* may be misread for *Stactum*, and then this stone will correspond with the foregoing.

These are the only instances hitherto in our own country.

On the Continent they are so numerous as to have furnished materials for learned Dissertations by Professor Walch at Jena [a], and Christian Saxius at Utrecht, in both which are collected no fewer than eighteen specimens of this kind.

The two first were published by Schmidt in his Antiquities of Nimeguen, p. 97, who professes his ignorance of their meaning. They were of green stone about an inch square, and three quarters of an inch thick, circumscribed in capitals.

MULphi Heracletis  
Stratiocum.

MULphi Heracletis  
Diarodonadim.

MULphi Heracletis  
Talasserofa.

MULphi Heracletis  
Cynarium ad imp.

[a] "Sigillum medici Ocularii Romani nuper in agro Jenensi repertum & observationibus illustratum a Jo. Ern. Imman. Walchio, Eloquent. & Poet. Prof. Pub. Ord. Societ. Lat. Jenens. Directore. Accedunt reliqua sigilla & inscriptiones medicorum oculariorum veterum. Jenæ, 1763."

"Epistola ad Henricum van Wyndetum urbi Brielanæ a consiliis publico suffragii jure, &c. de veteris medici ocularii gemma sphragide prope Trajectum ad Mosam nuper eruta. Traj. ad Rhen. 1773," 8vo.

Marci Ulpi Hera-  
 cletis Melcinim.  
 Marci Ulpi Hera-  
 cletis Diamyfus.  
 Marci Ulpi Hera-  
 cletis Tipinum.  
 Marci Ulpi Hera-  
 cletis Diarecis ad.

These Spon republished in his “Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis,” p. 237; and explains them thus:

“M. Ulpus Heracles was a maker or seller of ointments, of which *Stratioticum* is called by Scribonius Largus [b] and his copyist Marcellus Empiricus [c], an eye salve for dimness and roughness in the eyes; the latter explains it as intended for soldiers whose eyes are liable to be injured by dust or fatigue.

*Dalasse rosa* on the other side is explained by Caylus as compounded of *sea water*, and to be read *Thalasseron*, which occurs in Aetius [d]. *Diarodon* may be Pliny’s *Rhodanum*, and the modern composition or syrup of roses. *Ad imp.* or *ad impetum* implies that it is good for the disorder in the eyes called *impetus* by the same Marcellus, who speaks of *Collyrium ad lippitudines* & *primos impetus oculorum*, meaning the first attack of the complaint. Caylus explains *impetus* inflammation, Saxius, p. 27, defluxion.

[b] Composit. med. c. IV. n. 23, p. 32.

[c] Lib. de med.

[d] VIII. p. 147.

*Cycnarium* on the last side is the eye salve called by Galen and Orybasius *Cycnus*, white and soft, and by Aetius *Cycnarium*.

As to the terms on the other stone given by Schimdt, Pliny, N. H. XIII. 1. mentions *Melinum*, and Galen [e], and Athenæus [f] recommend it in the drinking matches as good for the bowels and inveterate lethargies. Saxius thinks it the alumn of Melos, celebrated by Celsus, Galen, and Pliny.

*Diamysus* is a mineral composition, of which see Marcus Empiricus, VIII. 72, and Pliny XXXIV. 31. Marcellus mentions *Diamysos*, as good *ad asperitudines oculorum*.

*Tipinum* is supposed a corruption for *Pituum*, *Lirinum*, or *Pyxinum*; *Diarices* may be *Diacrocon* of Celsus, Aetius, and P. Egineta, or *Dialoes* of Empiricus, Egineta, and Pliny: or as others *Dierices*. Of these the learned physician professes his ignorance.

The other stone, which he first published from Pieresc's papers, is as follows:

Sabiniani Chloron ad clar.

This is an eye salve of a green colour to restore the brightness of the eye sight. *Ad claritudinem*.

C. Cap. Sabiniani nardinium ad impetum.

A composition of spikenard mentioned by Aetius still in use: also by Pliny, XIII. 1.

C. Cap. Sabiniani Diabforicum ad calig.

[e] Lib. 2. de Comp. Med.

[f] XV.

A remedy against dimness mentioned by Marcellus and Pliny XXXIV. 29. who write only *Pforicum*.

Sabiniani Che-  
ledon ad cla.

The use of *Cheledonium* to clear the sight is mentioned by Pliny, XXV. 8.

A fourth specimen is produced by Maffei in his "Galliæ Antiquitates," p. 75, from Dijon, inscribed,

	M. Jul. Charitonis	
	Diasmyrn . . de . .	
M. Jul. Charitonis		M. Ju. Charitonis.
Isochrys. ad clar.		Diarhod. ad feru.
	Diapra . . . .	
	M. Ju. Charitonis	

Some fill up the first inscription *Diasmyrnon evodes*; others, *Diasmyrnon ad epiphoras*.

*Isochrysus* is the name of a physician in Galen IV. de Claris Medicis, p. 218. From him, perhaps, some eye salve had its name; or it may be a medicine for the eyes, equal in virtue to the *Holochrysos*, a plant in Pliny, XXI. 85. *Diapsaronium* may be the *Pfaronium* of the same naturalist, XXXVI. 43. a stone used in cases of the eyes.

*Diarhodon ad fervorem*, seems a salve or water of roses for inflammations in the eyes. Perhaps *diasmyrium ad fervorem* may be the true reading of the first scribe.

The fifth was found in Normandy, in the diocese of Coutance, near St. Mercure de l'Isle, and described in the *Mercure Francois* of July 1729, and October 1734. Besides the inscriptions, it has the figures of plants or parts of animals, probably used in the composition, and herein it resembles the two first in this paper.

The inscriptions are,

QVINTILIANI  
STACTADCLA.

QVINTILIANI  
DIALEPID.

Q. CAER QVINTIL  
ANI DIASMYRN.

QVINTILIANI  
CROCOD.

This oculist's name was *Quintus Cærealis Quintilianus*.

*Staēt ad claris.* is *Staēte ad claritatem* as before.

*Collyrium Dialepidos* occurs in *Marcus Empiricus*, c. VIII. p. 72.

*Diasmyrnos* has occurred before.

*Crocodes* is mentioned by *Celsus*. VI. 6. and *Pliny* XXI. 82. as an eye salve.

N° VI. found at Befançon, 1732, is described by M. Dunod, in his history of the Sequani, I. p. 205.

G. Stat. Sabiniani Diacherale,

Which some explain from *χηρ echinus* to be some preparation from the ashes of an hedgehog, as in Pliny XXXII. 23. of a magical nature for removing inflammations in the corners of the eyes. Saxius proposes to read it DIAKER, q. d. *δια κερατος*, or from hartshorn, as Pliny XXXIII. 47.

N° VII. Another from Befançon, communicated by M. Schœpflin to Count Caylus.

L. Sacci Menander Chelidonium, ad Ca

*Chelidonium* has been explained above; *ad Ca.* is *ad Caliginem*, q. d. to remove dimness.

L. Sacci Menander Melenium delacr.

L. Sacci Menandri Thalafferos delac.

L. Sacci Menan Diasphoric ad Sc.

The two first of these remedies, already treated of, are here applied to the defects or humours of the eye. *Collyrium liquidum delachrymatorium* is mentioned by Marcus Empiricus, c. 8. p. 72.

*Diasphoricum* has been explained already. *Ad sc.* means *ad scabritiem*, a complaint in the eyes, frequently mentioned by Pliny, XXXIV. 32. XXXV. 13, 52. Celsus, VI. 6.

N° VIII. from Mandeurre was published in Muratori's *Novus Thesaurus*, DVIII. and from Schœpflin's papers by Caylus.

C. Sulp. Hypni staetum opob. ad c.

Hypni crocod. dialepid. ad aspri.

Hypni lisiponum ad suppurationem.

Hypni cænon. ad claritatem.

The remedies used by Caius Sulpicius Hypnus are like the preceding *Staetum*, *Opobalsamum*, *Crocodes*, *Dialepidos*; and the complaints *suppurationes*, *aspriudo*, dimness (*ad claritatem*) which may be expressed by *ad. c.* in the first line. *Cænon* is some

*common*

common collyrium in use at the time, and occurring on another of these stones.

N° IX. is from Sienna in Gori's *Inscriptiones Florentinae*, part II. and Muratori DVIII. 4.

P. Ael. Theophiletis.

Cænona ad clar.

Stactum Ael.

Of *Cænona*, see under N° VIII. *Stactum ael* may be *Stadium ad lippitudines*.

N° X. Is given by Maffei in his *Museum Veronense*, p. CXXXV. n. inscribed.

Dianufus AD V F. CI.

which is to be read, *Dianufus ad vulnera et cicatrices*.

PacciAI ad Diat.

*Paccianum* is a particular eye-salve, mentioned by Aetius, VII. p. 147, from Paccius Antiochus, a celebrated physician cited by Scribonius Largus, Marcellus Empiricus, Galen, and others.

*Diathefis* is a complaint in the eyes mentioned by Marcellus Empiricus, c. viii. p. 72.

N° XI. Is a fragment in the King of France's cabinet, engraved by Caylus, I. p. 231.

Flaviani

in lenem ad

utidinem ocul\*.

which he reads :

*Decimi P. Flaviani*

*Collyrium lenem ad*

*Aspitudinem oculorum.*

*lenem* for *lene*, the collyrium *αδηλον & απαλον* of the Greeks.

H h 2

Professor

Professor Walch reads *lenementum* for *lenimentum*; *Saxius lene medicamentum*.

On the other side,

Decmi, P. Flavi  
ani Collyrium  
mixtum C.

*Collyrium mixtum* is the *μεμιγμενον* of Euelpis in Celsus, VI. c. vi. n. 17. 18.

N° XII. Caylus gives another at Paris without any person's name, but only of the compositions.

1. Lenem ad impe
- q. d. *Lenementum ad impetum*.
2. Ad Caliginem.
3. Post impetum
4. Ad Aspritudines.

N° XIII. Is in the cabinet of Antiquities belonging to the Jesuits at Lyons, and is thus described by Pere Beraud, and copied into the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XLVIII. p. 472.

1. C. Cintusmini Blandi  
Euuodes ad Aspr.
2. C. Cintus Blan  
di Diapforopo.
3. C. Cintus Blan  
di Diasmyrne.
4. C. Cintus Blan  
di Sponc. Leni.

The terms on the three first sides have already occurred. The fourth expresses some application to the eyes in which *sponges* were concerned, of which see Pliny XXXI. 47. Dioscorides (lib. v.) says that burnt sponges steep in vinegar are good in the lippitude, and in all other cases requiring detergents and astringents. On the first and third sides are figures of plants, probably



probably of those, whence the myrrh, a principal ingredient in these collyria, distils.

N° XIV. The subject of Professor Walch's tract was found at Jena among the sand, and washed down by the river there. The stone is described as opaque, of the jasper kind and of a greenish cast, square, and of a moderate thickness, a flat polished surface, but somewhat worn by time, perforated in the middle, as if for putting it occasionally on a file. The inscription cut inversely as on seals full of abbreviations.

PHR°NIM DIAPSOR  
OPOBALSAD CLAR.

PHR°N MBIASMRN  
POST MPELIPEX°V.

PHR°NIMEV6DES  
ADASPRIT . ET . CIK.

PHR°NIMI PENICIL  
ADOMNEM LIPPIT.

Of the inscription on the first side we have treated before.

The second may be read :

*Diasmyrnes post impetum lippitudinis ex oculo ulcerato or ex oculi ulceribus.*

Scribonius Largus describes a collyrium for wounds in the eyes.

The third side treats of one for *aspritudines* & “*cicatrices recentes.*” See Scribonius Largus, and Marcus Empiricus.

The

The *penicillus* on the fourth side is that which Pliny recommends, made of *sponges*, XXXI. 47. Hence one may conjecture that the sponges mentioned before were of this kind and for this use. Others explain it *penicillum lenē ex ovo*, a soft sponge dipt in the white of an egg, and applied to the eye, recommended by Celsus, VI. vi. n. 8.

N° XV. and XVI. were found at Nismes, and communicated by Monsieur Seguier to Professor Walch. The first, without a name, recites the *Psorium, Crocodes, Aromatica*, and *Melinum*.

The other is inscribed,

CLAVDOR GALBADCIC A.

q. d. *Claudii Crocodes Galbaneus ad cicatrices*, a composition of Crocodes and Galbanum, or the *το δια Γαλβανης Χλωρον* of Aetius. Pliny says (XXIV. 13.) Galbanum is of a nature similar to Hammoniacum, which last is of great use in restoring the sight, and removing itchings, scars, and white spots from the eyes.

N° XVII. The subject of Saxius's treatise was found in the forest of Valkenburgh, about two leagues from Mæstricht, near Ravensborch. It is one-third of an inch in thickness, of a dark green colour, like the Molochitis or Malachites of Pliny XXXVII. 36, or rather ash coloured, or deep grey; the insides bearing the following inscriptions cut in inversely, and from right to left.

1. C. Lucci Alexandri dial  
epidos ad aspritudine.

2. C.

2. C. Lucci Alexandri lene  
ad omnem lippitudine.
3. C. Lucci Alexandri ad cali  
cines ed Scabritias omnes.
4. C. Lucci Alexandri Croco  
des at aspritudines.

in which there are very few differences from the foregoing articles, except worse orthography and the introduction of a new complaint, *scabritia*.

N<sup>o</sup> XVIII. In the possession of Francis Dowse, Esq. of Grays Inn, a member of this Society, who communicated it to the Gentleman's Magazine for October 1778, Vol. XLVIII. p. 472. It is engraved at the head of this article, fig. 1.

1. M. Jul. Satyri Diasmy  
rnes post impet. lippit.
2. M. Jul. Satyri peni  
cil. lene ex ovo.
3. M. Jul. Satyri dia  
lepides ad aspr.
4. M. Jul. Satryi Diali  
banu ad suppurat.

In the second, the use of the *penicillum* for applying white of egg as before-mentioned is clearly expressed. In the fourth, *ad suppurationes*, is a new case: sore eyes; and the remedy *dialepidos*, explained *dialibanus* as compounded of frankincense, *Διαβανος*.

I have been thus long in the detail of a variety of instances of these stamps or seals employed by the professors of *Optthalmiatrics* among the antients, in order to introduce one additional specimen which I now offer to the inspection of the Society \*; of an inferior sort indeed to those already described, being inscribed only on three of the four sides, and on one of them in characters of a rude and negligent form.

On one side is inscribed,

LIVLIVENISD  
O BALSAM TV.

On the other,

ASMVRNESBIS  
IPETV EX OVO.

On the third, in rude characters,

FISELVVIDI  
ATAK BAF.

From which we learn that the owner's name was Fl. or Flavius Secundus, and that his composition was made up of *opobalsamum* and myrrh, and the white of egg, as others before-mentioned.

The profession of an *Oculist* appears to have been distinct from that of other branches of medical science. Thus we have in Gruter (DLXXXI.) an inscription at Rome:

ATTIA P. L.

HILARITAS

V. AN. XXIX

P. ATTIVS. ATIMĒTVS

AVG. MEDICVS AB OCVL.

H. S. E.

\* See it engraved at the head of this paper, fig. 2.

commemorating P. Attius Atimetus, Oculist to the Emperor, but to which of the Emperors is not specified. It is remarkable too, that a branch of some tree or plant is insculped on this sepulchral stone as on those in question.

Another sepulchral inscription at Rome in the same collection, and in the same page of Gruter, n. 8. runs thus :

TI. IVLIVS  
AVG. ET  
AVGVSTAE L.  
CVTISONVS. \*  
MEDICVS  
OCVLARIVS  
H. S. E.

A third sepulchral *cippus*, dug up near Tivoli 1602, and preserved at Rome (Gruter, MCXI.) has

TIBERIVS. † TI. CAESAR  
AVG. SER. CELADIANVS  
MEDICVS OCVLARIVS  
PIVS. PARENTIVM SVORVM  
VIXIT. ANNOS. XXX.  
HIC. SITVS EST IN PERPET.

Reinesius (Clafs. XI. 8.) gives from Bartholinus :

Q. CLODIVS Q. L. NIGER  
MEDICVS OCVLAR. SIBI ET  
Q. CLODIO. Q. L. SALVIO PATRONO.

Others might be alledged from later collections of inscriptions, all conspiring to prove this assertion.

\* Pighius' MS. reads, CYLISORVS.

† Others have copied it ILLVSTRIVS.

Count Caylus has engraved a rude earthen box or case, which formerly contained some of these collyria, and bears this inscription :

CDVRONCTET  
CHELIDOAD CAL.

which Saxius reads differently from him and Walch :

*Caii Duronici Tetii  
Chelidonium ad caliginem.*

From the general turn of the inscriptions on these little green stones, we may conclude, that either the Collyria themselves were moulded up in the form of a paste and stamped with them, or that the impression of these stamps was imprinted, on the wrappers wherein they were done up. In the latter case, we have an additional instance of the near approach of the antients to the art of printing, confirming an observation of the late Abbé Winkelman, in his letter on the discoveries at Herculaneum ; that they advanced so near to the metal types, that it is astonishing that did not anticipate posterity in the application of them to the circulation of knowledge, in a so much quicker and easier mode than by transcribing manuscripts.

XXIII. *Extract from a MS. in the Augmentation Office. Communicated by John Caley, Esq. F. A. S. In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Brand, Secretary.*

Read Jan. 8, 1789.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I take the liberty of sending you the inclosed for your inspection. It is a faithful transcript of a manuscript remaining in the Augmentation office, which has the sign manual of King Henry the Eighth. It contains some particulars respecting the dreses in his reign, which may perhaps be thought proper to accompany the collections of the Society of Antiquaries which concern the household establishments of our Sovereigns. At any rate, if you think it sufficiently curious, I will trouble you to read it to that learned body the first convenient opportunity.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your very humble servant,

Gray's Inn,  
Jan. 7th, 1789.

“ JOHN CALEY.”

HENRY R.

By the King.

**W**EE wolle and com'ande you, that of our treasure and mōney being in youre custodie and keeping, Ye furthwith upon the sight herof contente and paye unto alle theise parsons whose names followe, for such parcellis of stufte and workmanship as p'ticularlie ensue, that is to wite; ffyrste, to John Malte oure Tillor, for making of a jacquette of yalowe fatten, enbrowdered with Venysse golde, cutte and lyned with fatten, s'cenette, and frise, the yalowe fatten of oure store, and alle the lynyng of oure greate warderobe. It'm, fourtene buttons of gold, employed to a dublette of white fatten cutte and fringed with golde, the buttons of oure greate warderobe, and alle the residue of oure owne store. It'm, for eight and twentye buttons of golde employed to two like dublettis of our store, and the buttons of our great warderobe. It'm for making of a dublette of yallowe fatten enbrowdered with golde of oure store, lyned with farcenette, fustian, and creeste clothe, and also the ventes lyned with farcenette, of our greate warderobe. It'm for making of a jaquette of yalowe damaske enbrowdered with golde of oure store, lyned with yalowe fatten and cotton of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a dublette of yalowe damaske, enbrowdered with golde of oure store, lyned as welle with yalowe farcenette, fustian, and creeste clothe, as also with white farcenette, of our greate warderobe. It'm for eight and twentye buttons of golde employed as well to the faide dublette of yalowe fatten, as also to the forsaide dublette of yelow damaske, all oure greate warderobe. It'm for one yarde and a halfe of yalowe fatten employed to the p'formance  
of



of the faide dublette and jacquette of like fatten, of our greate warderobe. It'm for making of a clooke of skarlette with a brode garde of right crymsen veluette, all of oure greate warderobe. It'm for fyxe ellis of yalowe farcenette, fyxe ellis of carnacion-coloured farcenette, and three ellis of white farcenette, delyuered to William Crofton, oure hoofyar, for lynyng of oure hoofe, all of oure greate warderobe. It'm for fyxe yardis of white flanelle, delyuered for oure use into the warderobe of our roobis, all of oure greate warderobe. It'm for one dussen brushes, and one dussen and a halfe of rubbers delyvered to like use into oure faid warderobe of our roobis, all of our great warderobe. It'm for making of a jacquette of blacke veluette, embrowdered with lace of oure store, and lyned with fatten of our greate warderobe. It'm for making of a jacquette of blacke veluette embrowdered with Venyffe golde of our store, lyned with fatten and cotton of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a shamewe of blacke printed fatten embrowdered with damaske golde, and furred with luzardis of our store, the bodies and sleevis lyned with bokerham of our greate warderobe. It'm for making of a dublette of carnacion-coloured fatten, embrowdered with damaske golde of our store, cutte and lyned with carnacion coloured farcenette, fustian, and creaste clothe, and the ventes with white farcenette of oure faid dublette, alle of our greate warderobe. It'm for fourtene buttons of golde, employed to oure faid dublette all of our greate warderobe. It'm for making of a ryding coote of grene clothe, with a brode garde of greene veluette, sette on with lace, and lyned with grene fatten, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a short coote of grene clothe, with a brode garde of grene veluette sette on with lace, and lyned with grene fatten, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a clooke of grene clothe, with a brode garde  
of

of grene veluette fett on with lace, all of our greate warderobe. It'm for making of a hatte of green veluette, lyned with grene sarcenette, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for two boultis of threede blacke and greye delyuered for oure use into the warderobe of oure roobis, all of oure greate warderobe. It'm for halfe a pounce of threede of sondrye colours in like maner delyuered for oure use, into the warderobe of oure saide roobis, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for translating of a gowne of blacke veluette, and newe lyning of the same with clothe of golde, all of oure store. It'm for making of a jacquette of carnacion-coloured veluette embrowdered with golde of oure store, lyned with carnacion-coloured fatten, and cotton of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a dublette of carnacion-coloured veluette, embrowdered with damaske golde of oure store, lyned with carnacion-coloured sarcenette, fustain, and creeste clothe, and the ventes with white sarcenette of oure greate warderobe. It'm for fourtene buttons of golde employed to the same dublette, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a dublette of white fatten, cutte and fringed with Venysse golde of oure store, lyned with white sarcenette, fustian, and creeste clothe, the ventes likewise lyned with sarcenette of oure greate warderobe. It'm for fourtene buttons of golde employed to the same dublette alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a ryding coote of grene veluette, embrowdered with lace of grene filke, and lyned with grene fatten, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a coote of grene damaske, with a brode garde of grene veluette set on with lace, lyned with grene damaske fatten of Brudgies, and cotton, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of two peticootes of white taffata, lyned with the same taffata, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making a gowne of white damaske embrowdered and lyned with white veluette of oure store, the sleeves lyned with  
bokerham

bokerham of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a gowne of crymsen printed fatten, enbrowdered and lyned with crymsen veluette, all of oure store, the sleeves lyned with bokerham, of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a Spanyshe clooke of crymsen clothe of golde, enbrowdered and lyned with crymsen veluette, alle of oure store. It'm for making of a Spanyshe clooke of grene tynfelle, enbrowdered and lyned with grene veluette, alle of oure store. It'm for making of a Spanyshe clooke of purple casse damaske, enbrowdered and lyned with purple veluette, all of our store. It'm for making of newe bodye to a riche dublette of crymsen fatten of oure store, lyned with fustian, and the ventes with farcenette of our greate warderobe. It'm for fourtene buttons of golde employed to the same dublette, all of our greate warderobe. It'm for making of a coote with the sleevis of purple fatten of our store, garded with purple veluette, lyned with fatten and cotton of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of foure stomachers of fatten, of carnacion, crymsen, white, and blacke coloures, everye of them lyned with the same fatten, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a hatte of grene veluette, embrowdered with grene filke lace, and lyned with grene farcenette, all of our greate warderobe. It'm for making of three cappies of veluette, the one yalowe, the other orange coloure, and the thirde grene; everye of them lyned with the same veluette, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of fyxe halfe cases of yalowe cotton for the clene keeping of fyxe of oure riche clookys, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for halfe a yarde of white fatten, and halfe a yarde of grene fatten, delyuered for oure use into the warderobe of oure roobis, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for fatten of sondrye colours, employed to the baggis of alle oure forenamed

cootes and jaquettes, of oure greate warderobe. It'm for twentye yardis three quarters and a halfe of grene fatten, delyuered by oure commandemente, to our dereft wyffe the Queene, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for thurteen yardis and a halfe and halfe a quarter of grene clothe of golde checked, likewise delyuered by our fame com'andemente, to oure said wyffe, alle of oure forenamed greate warderobe. It'm for making of a long gowne of unwatered chamblette, edged with the fame chamblette, furred with conye and lambe, alle of oure greate warderobe, for Culpepir oure page. It'm for making of a coote of blacke lukys veluette, with a brode garde of the fame veluette, sette on with foure laces of filke, lyned with purple sarcenette and fryse, alle of oure greate warderobe, for oure said page. It'm for making of a dublette of blacke lukys veluette, lyned with purple sarcenette, fustian and canvas, alle of oure greate warderobe, for oure same page. It'm for making of a doublette of blacke fatten, edged with blacke veluette, lyned with fustian and canvas, alle of oure greate warderobe, for our page aforesaid. It'm for making of three cootys of grene clothe styched with grene filke, having buttons of like fylke, lyned with frise and fustian, alle of oure greate warderobe, for the three officers of our roobys. It'm for making of two cootys of green clothe styched with grene filke, having buttons of like filke, lyned with frise and fustian, alle of oure greate warderobe for oure two barbours. It'm for making of fyve cootys of grene clothe styched with grene filke, having buttons of like filke, lyned with fryse and fustian, all of oure greate warderobe, for fyve groomes of oure preavie chambre. It'm for making of three cootys of grene clothe, gardid with brode gardes of grene veluette sette on with foure laces of grene filke, having buttons of like filke, lyned with fryse and fustian

fustian, alle of oure greate warderobe, for Marke Philip, and Culpepir, of oure preavie chamber. It'm for fatten employed to the lynning of the ventes and collers of the said cootys, all of oure greate warderobe. It'm for fustian employed to the baggis of the same cootys of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a coote of red clothe boordrid with blacke veluette, and lyned with fryse, alle of oure greate warderobe, for William Crofton oure hoosyar. It'm for making of a coote of red clothe, lyned with fryse, alle of oure greate warderobe for oure sporyar. It'm for blacke veluette, employed to the boodering of three-score and seevyn red cootes, for three-score and seevyn yomen of oure garde, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a dublette of wursteede, lyned with canvas and cotton, alle of oure greate warderobe, for William Som'ar, oure foole. It'm for making of a coote and a cappe of grene clothe, fringed with red crule, and lyned with fryse, alle of oure greate warderobe, for our saide foole. It'm for making of a dublette of fustian, lyned with cotton and canvas, alle of oure greate warderobe, for oure same foole. It'm for making of a coote of grene clothe, with a hoode to the same, fringed with white crule lyned with fryse and bokerham, alle of oure greate warderobe, for oure foole aforesaid. It'm for making of a do coote with a hoode of grene clothe, fringed with crule of red and white colours, and lyned with bokerham, alle of oure greate warderobe, for oure said foole. To Thomas Addington, oure skynner for furring of a frocke of blacke fatten enbrowdered with golde, with twelve lusarne skynnes, paries and four of leopardes woomes, alle of our greate warderobe. It'm for furring of a paire of buskynnes, with twelve white lambe skynnes, and syxe blacke conye skynnes, all of oure greate warderobe. To Leetice Worsope, oure silkewoman, for two pecis of reabande,

the one white, and the other red, containing togeder in length one and fourtye yardes, and either peice in bredth three nayles for oure sockis, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for foure pecis of coleyne reabande of diu'se colours containing togeder in length, fyve-score yardis, and everye pece in bredith three nayles, for oure gurdiles, all of oure greate warderobe. It'm for three pecis of cappe reabande, and fyxe pecis of Venyffe reabande, pennye bredith of diu'se colours and for diu'se purposes, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for fyxe pecis of gartering reabande of diu'se colours containing togeders in length, one hundrith, one and fourtye yardes and a halfe, alle of oure great warderobe. It'm for fyve grooffe and a halfe of reabande poyntes of severalle colours, alle of oure greate warderobe. To William Crofton, oure hoofyar, for making of two paire of hoofe of skarlette, the one paire upper-stocked with yalowe damaske, and the other paire with yalowe fatten, either paire enbrowdered with golde, and lyned with fyne white clothe, the damaske and fatten of oure store, the skarlette and white clothe of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a paire of hoofe, upper stocked with carnacion-coloured fatten, cutte and enbrowdered with golde, and also lyned with fyne white clothe, with two paire of nether-stockis, the one paire skarlette, and the other paire blacke carfye, the fatten of oure store, the skarlette, blacke carfye, and white lyninge of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of one paire of hoofe of carnacion coloured carfye, upper stocked with carnacion-coloured veluette, cutte and enbrowdered with golde, and lyned as well with carnacion-coloured farcenette, as also with fyne white clothe, the veluette and farcenette of oure store, the carnacion clothe, and white clothe of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making a paire of hoofe of white carfye upper stocked with white fatten, cutte and fringed with golde, and  
lyned.

lyned as well with white farcenette as also with fyne white clothe, the fatten and farcenette of oure store, the white carfye and white lynnyng of oure greate warderobe. It'm for translating, as well of a paire of upper stockis of purple veluette embroidered with golde and tuffed with cameryke of oure store, as also for making of a newe paire of nether stockis of blacke carfye to the same togeders with one lynnyng of the same upper stockis with fyne white clothe, the black carfye and white lynnyng of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a paire of hoose of grene clothe upper stocked with grene veluette, fringed with golde, and lyned as well with grene farcenette as also with fyne white clothe, the veluette of oure store, the grene clothe, farcenette, and white lynnyng, of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of a paire of hoose of orange-coloured clothe upper stocked with veluette of the same coloure, fringed with silver, and lyned as well with orange-coloured farcenette as also with fyne white clothe, the veluette of oure store, the orange-coloured clothe farcenette, and white lynnyng of oure greate warderobe. It'm for a paire of boote hoose of blacke clothe with two paire sockis of the same clothe, alle of our greate warderobe. It'm for two yardis of black clothe delyuered to Henrye Cornelys our cordewaner, for the lynnyng of oure buskynnes, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for halfe a yarde of white clothe delyured for oure roobis, of our greate warderobe. It'm for a pair of nether stocks of yalowe clothe likewise delyuered for oure use into the faide warderobe of oure roobis, of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of foure sockis for our use, whereof one of taffata, and three of Geneva clothe, everye of them embrowdered with silke and lyned with skarlette, all of oure greate warderobe. It'm for thirtie paire of hose, and thirtie paire of base sockis of fyne linnen

clothe for oure use, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for two paire of hoose of blewe clothe, gardid with red and blacke clothe, alle of oure greate warderobe, for William Som'eroure foole. To Henrye Johnfone, our cordewaner for twentie yardis of veluette of dyv'le colours, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for making of three paire of veluette buskynnes, and nyne and thirtie paire of veluette shoos of foudrye colours for oure use, all of oure greate warderobe. It'm for fyxe paire of English lether bootys, and fyxe paire of Spanythe lether buskynnes, alle of oure greate warderobe. It'm for fooling of fyxe paire of shoos with feltys, to pleye in at tenneys, of oure greate warderobe. To William Sporyar, for foure and twentie paire of spores, whereof twelve paire of veluette, and twelve paire of lether, alle of oure greate warderobe. And these our L'res, shall be unto you a sufficiente warrante and discharge anempste us at alle tymes herastir in this behalfe. Geven undre oure signe manuelle, at oure castille of Wyndesore, the xxviiijth daye of June, in the xxvij yere of oure reigne.

To oure trustie and right well  
beloved counsaillor the Lorde  
Windfore, Keper of oure  
greate warderobe.

*Henry VIII*



XXIV. *Account of some Discoveries in the church of Brotherton, in Yorkshire. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries. By the Rev. Mr. Drake, F. A. S.*

Read Feb. 28, 1789.

REV. SIR,

I SEND you here some remains of antiquity which were dug up in Yorkshire a few years ago; and which, though immediately transmitted to me, I have neglected, through a natural indolence of temper, to convey before now to the Society. They consist of a chalice, pretty much mutilated, and its lid, a spur, and part of a stocking; and were found in digging a grave on the north side of Brotherton church, May 20, 1781. I must inform you, that Ferrybridge is a hamlet adjoining to Brotherton; we may therefore, I apprehend, naturally suppose that these things were buried along with one of the lords that were killed at a skirmish that happened at Ferrybridge on Saturday the 28th of May, 1461. In order to make this more intelligible to you, I will give you a short sketch of the circumstances.

cumstances that related to that event. Richard duke of York, the formidable enemy to the Lancastrian family, being defeated and slain at the battle of Wakefield, Edward his son by the favour of the Londoners was proclaimed king. But he had not enjoyed his new dignity many days before he found himself obliged to march against queen Margaret, who had recruited her army among her northern friends to the number of sixty thousand men, all ready to sacrifice their lives for the service of her husband. Edward, by easy marches, advanced from London to Pontefract, from whence he detached a party commanded by lord Fitzwalter to secure the pass of Ferrybridge on the river Aire, which commission that officer executed with no great difficulty. Somerset, the Lancastrian general, being informed that this pass was seized by Fitzwalter, immediately sent Clifford from York to drive the Yorkists from the river, as that situation would have been too advantageous to them in case of a battle, which must, in all probability, succeed. Clifford, according to his orders, surprized that part of Edward's army, and drove them from the pass with great slaughter, after an obstinate action, in which Fitzwalter and the bastard of Salisbury lost their lives. Clifford retiring after this success in a careless manner was himself surprized by a detachment sent by Edward, under Fauconberg, and was there slain.

Now, Sir, must we not imagine that these lords, or at least some of them, might be buried in the church that was nearest to the place where they met their fate; and that Edward, after the battle of Towton, which was fought the next day, might pay his friends those funeral honours which the quality and services of men so attached to his interest seemed to require. As to Clifford, there could not be wanting friends to inter him  
with

with decency in a country where he had such large possessions, though the confusion of the times, and the prevalency of his enemies in those parts, might prevent him from being conveyed to Skipton, the usual burying place of the family; and this supposition appears the more probable, as we have some sort of proof, that in that bloody and unnatural contest the great men were interred immediately after the battles in the place where they fell. This we learn from a letter in Fenn's collection, which was written at the very time. "All the lords," says that letter, "that died at St. Albans, were buried at St. Albans." That the person deposited here could not be an ecclesiastic, though the chalice and patten might seem to hint so much, the spur that lay by them, and the circumstances of the battle are, in my opinion, sufficient proofs. It may perhaps be some amusement, in want of better matter to entertain the Society, to give you some short account of the families from which those brave men who here sacrificed themselves for the sake of their friends, descended.

Lord Fitzwalter was sprung from one of the oldest Norman families in the kingdom, of which the male line terminated in him. The first of them that entered England was Richard the eldest son of Gislebert, surnamed Crispin, earl of Briou in Normandy, son of Geoffrey, natural son to Richard, the first of that name duke of Normandy. He attended the duke into England, and was of eminent service to him in that battle of Hastings which gave William the name of Conqueror and the possession of this kingdom. He was liberally rewarded for his assistance, the Conqueror conferring upon him, among many lordships in different counties, ninety-five in Suffolk, whereof Clare was one, from whence he was sometimes called Richard  
de

de Clare. The elder branch of the family by marriage became earls of Hertford and Gloucester, and ended in the person of Gilbert, who was killed at the battle of Bannockburn in Scotland in the reign of Edward the Second. In the other branch Robert the great-grandson of the first lord of Clare, being the son of Walter, distinguished himself by the name and title of Baron Fitzwalter. This branch went down by a regular descent in the male line to this Walter Fitz Walter who was killed at Ferrybridge, and he having no issue but daughters, the barony passed into another family. Dugdale [a] seems here to make a mistake; for which there is no accounting. He tells us, that this Walter Fitzwalter, the last of the family, died a natural death, in the year 1432, eight-and-twenty years before the battle of Towton, and that Anne his daughter married Thomas Ratcliffe, whose son Sir John Ratcliffe was afterwards summoned to parliament as Lord Fitzwalter. In Paston's Collection, we find that on Edward's side was slain Lord Fitzwalter; and the ingenious editor observes upon this, that it does not appear from our Baronages that there was a Lord Fitzwalter at this time. Our historians however, adds he, mention such a nobleman as commanding at Ferrybridge for Edward IV. where he was defeated and killed, a few days before the battle of Towton; and these letters confirm the existence of such a title. This is a Gordian knot in heraldry which I must acknowledge I have not strength to untie. If any more conversant in that kind of learning would do it for me, the Society, I doubt not, would be obliged to them. Either our noble President, or my good friend Mr. Brooke, are competent for the task; to their assistance, therefore, conscious of my own inability, I must apply.—William Wyrcester, who lived at the very time; for

[a] Baron. I. 223.

he was born 1415, and was alive 1480, mentions this engagement of Ferrybridge, and the death of Fitzwalter, but says nothing of the bastard of Salisbury. But as he only wrote annals or principal events, such an omission might naturally occur. “Rex Edwardus quartus,” says he, “cum suis dominis paravit se ire ad boreales partes Anglie, ad devincendam fortudinem dominorum borealium, qui congregati sunt cum rege Henrico et regina Margareta, et circa dominicam palmarum in prelio apud Ferrybridge occisus est dominus Fitzwalter, et die sequenti commissum est gravissimum prælium.” This William Wyrcester (you must excuse digressions; for an old man, you know, naturally “fabellas garrit aniles,”) who frequently signs himself in Paston’s letters by his mother’s name Botoner, was a native of Bristol, but being early taken up by Sir John Fastolf of Caistor in Norfolk, was by his means educated at Oxford, and afterwards retained in his family, where he had some respectable appointments, and was made executor to his will along with Sir John Paston, the ancestor to the late Earl of Yarmouth, who succeeded to the estate at Caistor. Nor were the care and expence of the knight ill employed in regard to this person; for few or any of his contemporaries rose to so much eminence in literature. He was deeply versed in the abstruser kind of sciences: but, what would entitle him to greater respect from this Society, he was a very judicious and indefatigable collector of the antiquities of his country. The two great biographers, Bale and Pits, speak of him in the highest language. “Variarum fanè,” says Bale, “rerum cognitioni, matheos, scilicet, medicinæ, cosmographiæ, et historiæ, ab ipsa juventute Botonerus invigilavit, et incrementa postmodum ex diuturno labore non minima suscepit. Per Anglorum limites

omnes, ubicumque res ullas peragendas habebat, visitatis conventibus, collegiis, monachorum cœnobiis, ecclesiisque cathedralibus, antiquitates ipse collegit; et quicquid memoriâ dignum poterat, vel ex bibliothecis, codicibus antiquis, sepulchris, fenestris, aut similibus veterum monumentis haurire, tabellis vel rotulis inscripsit." His publications were numerous, chiefly in history, antiquity, medicine, and astrology; but one of them he dedicated solely to his patron, as an offering to gratitude, which he called, "Acta domini Johannis Fastolfi;" and he must be well qualified to write upon such a subject, as Anthony Wood tells us, "Fastolfo Botonerus armigeri vicem præstitit, clypeumque viro detulit quoties bellici quippiam aggredereetur." That this Botoner and Wyrcester were the same person, we have his own hand for proof; for thus he concludes one of his letters written to a friend at Caistor after Sir John's death, "from yours,

W. Botoner, called Wyrcester."

which is a compleat refutation of Pits, who, as Wood says, "Worcesterum hunc nostrum diversum à Botonero facit." It will perhaps appear trifling, if I mention, that this Botoner, being a Bristol man, was an intimate of that rich Canning, the merchant of Bristol, who in the supposed Rowley's poems is mentioned as his patron. "Moreover," says he, in a letter to Sir John Fastolf, "please you to weet, that William Canyns the merchant writeth an answer of your letter; I trust it shall be the better for your writing." Nor can I forbear taking notice, that in his Latin annals, he represents Henry VI. afflicted with the very same malady with which our present sovereign is unhappily visited. "1452; hoc anno apud Claryngtone Rex Henricus sextus subito cecidit in gravem infirmitatem capitis, ita  
quod

quod extractus à mente videbatur." But to finish this digression concerning Botoner. I introduced him, in order by his letters and the letters of other dependants of Sir John Fastolf to account for a circumstance in some of Shakspeare's historical plays, which, I think, has not been sufficiently explained. Sir John Fastolf was of a very ancient family in Norfolk, one of his ancestors, Sir Hugh Fastolf, having been high sheriff of that county, 19 Richard II. He seems to have taken to a military life very early. He began his career under Thomas Duke of Clarence, second son to Henry IV. who was made by his father Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This prince he served as Esquire; Wyrcester says, "Memorandum, quod in anno 2do regis H. quarti, & anno ejusdem regis 6to & 7mo, Thomas, qui postea fuit Dux Clarenciæ factus, fuit locum tenens regis Henrici, patris sui, de tota patria Hiberniæ. Memorandum quod Johannes Fastolf adtunc armiger fuit continue secum in dicta Hibernia per idem tempus." The Irish expedition being ended, he was engaged in the French wars, under the great Duke of Bedford, whose ward, Fuller says, he was, and he seems to have continued there till the conclusion of them, which happened so unfortunately. He was made knight of the Garter early in Henry Vth's time, and the letter of recommendation sent to him by the King, or rather his lieutenant, carries with it the most ample testimony of his merit. It is addressed to Sir John Fastolf, and runs thus: "We, considering the virtuous fidelity you have shewn, and the honourable exploits you have done in the service of our thrice renowned father, and that in our service also you, as many others, have given proof of that honour, and those deserts, wherewith

God has endowed you, always suffering, as is the part of a good subject, the pains and toils of war, for the vindicating and maintaining of our just rights, claim, and title, have chosen you one of our companions of our order." Ashmole gives us another proof of the excellency of his character: "It is remarkable, says he, in a singular instance, that when two knights had on either side equal voices, which was the case of Sir John Falstolf and Sir John Radcliffe, the first, being esteemed more worthy by the Sovereign's Lieutenant, obtained the election." In the progress of the war, no man did more considerable service: in 1423 he made himself master of several places upon the Seine, particularly the strong town of Greville, which surrendered to him. In the important battle of Verneuil he had a principal command, and by his bravery took the Duke of Alençon prisoner, which appears by one of his letters, in which he complains, that the reward due to him for the capture of that prince was unjustly detained from him. But in no action did he more signalize his courage and address, than in that which is called the battle of the Herrings. When the English had besieged Orleans, the regent ordered a convoy of salt fish to set out from Paris for the provision of the besiegers during the approaching season of Lent, of which he gave the command to Sir John Falstolf, with seventeen hundred men. The French king, being apprised of this intended supply, sent the Count of Clermont to intercept it with three thousand troops; but those forces met so a warm a reception, and were attacked with such resolution by Falstolf, that few of them remained alive, so that he entered the English camp with triumph. After the conclusion of the French wars, he retired to his seat in Norfolk, where he seems  
to



to have resided in great state and magnificence till 1459, when he died at the age of eighty. He was respected by all the great men of his time, particularly by Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal of Saint Ciriac in Thermis, and great grand son of Edward the Third. This great prelate in his letters expresses the highest esteem and regard for him, addressing them to the right worshipful and my entirely well beloved St. John Falstolf, and subscribing them "from your faithful and true Thomas Cant." The stile indeed which this noble ecclesiastic uses towards him is the most respectful, and can only be applicable to the purest and most illustrious of characters. You, yourself, Sir, shall be witnesses of it. "Right worshipful, and my entirely well beloved, I greet you right heartily well, thanking you specially, and in full hearty wise, for the very gentle goodness, that ye shewed unto me at all times, praying you of good continuance. And as touching such matters as ye sent unto me for, as the rule (government I suppose) is amended here, and the weather waxeth seasonable and pleasant, I trust to God verily to see you in these parts within short time; at which time I shall commune and demean unto you in such wise, that ye shall be right pleased; and the blessed Trinity have you everlastingly in keeping." After such splendid instances of the most consummate bravery and respectability of character, must we not be surprized that Shakspear in his historical plays should represent this knight in so dishonourable a light, introducing him upon the stage as a coward and poltroon? Upon this he dwells with a kind of poetical fury, and never seems more happy than when he exhibits him to his audience as an object of national contempt and detestation. To convince you of this, I will give

you the poet's description of the battle of Patay, or, as it is sometimes called, of Poictiers; nor will you be displeas'd at it, for it is as elegant as animated. A messenger is introduced giving an account to the English council of this event, where Talbot was surpriz'd by a superior number of French, and taken prisoner with lords Scales and Hungerford.

The tenth of August last, this dreadful lord  
Retiring from the siege of Orleans,  
Having scarce full six thousand in his troop,  
By three and twenty thousand of the French  
Was round encompass'd and set upon.  
No leizure had he to enrank his men;  
He wanted pikes to set before his archers;  
Instead whereof sharp stakes pluckt out of hedges  
They pitched in the ground confus'dly,  
To keep the horsemen off from breaking in.  
More than three hours the fight continued;  
Where valiant Talbot above human thought  
Enacted wonders with his sword and lance,  
Hundreds he sent to hell, and none durst stand him.  
Here, there, and every where, enrag'd he flew.  
The French exclaim'd, the devil was in arms:  
All the whole army stood agaz'd on him.  
His soldiers spying his undaunted spirit,  
A Talbot! Talbot! cried out amain,  
And rush'd into the bowels of the battle.  
Here had the conquest fully been seal'd up,  
If Sir John Falstaff had not play'd the coward;

He

He being in the rereward (plac'd behind  
With purpose to relieve and follow them)  
Cowardly fled, not having struck one stroke.  
Hence grew the gen'ral wreck and massacre;  
Enclosed were they with their enemies.

Is Talbot slain then?

O, no! he lives, but is took prisoner,  
And lord Scales with him, and lord Hungerford;  
Most of the rest slaughter'd or took likewise.

Observe in what a despicable situation the poet represents our knight at the very instant of the battle.

*Capt.* Whither away, Sir John Falstaff?

*Fal.* Whither away? To save myself by flight.

*Capt.* What will you fly and leave Lord Talbot?

*Fal.* Ay, all the Talbots in the world to save my life.

*Capt.* Cowardly knight, ill-fortune follow thee.

But Shakspear is not satisfied with hanging up this knight as a mark of publick infamy; he even proceeds to actual degradation, and the king solemnly banishes him from the realm upon pain of death, if ever he returns:

Talbot speaks. First Part of Henry VI. Act iv. scene 1.

“I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,  
To tear the Garter from thy craven leg,  
Which I have done; because unworthily  
Thou wast installed in that high degree.

Pardon,

Pardon, my princely Henry, and the rest,  
 This dastard, at the battle of Poictiers,  
 When but in all I was six thousand strong,  
 And that the French were almost ten to one ;  
 Before we met, or that a stroke was given,  
 Like to a trusty 'squire did run away ;  
 In which assault we lost twelve hundred men,  
 Myself and divers gentlemen beside  
 Were there surprized and taken prisoners.  
 Then judge, great lords, if I have done amiss,  
 Or whether that such cowards ought to wear  
 This ornament of knighthood, yea or no ?

King Henry speaks :

Stain to thy countrymen ! thou hear'st thy doom,  
 Be packing therefore thou that wast a knight ;  
 Henceforth we banish thee on pain of death."

This may be poetry, but certainly it is not history, as no such degradation or arret of banishment ever happened, nor are they noticed by any record or register of those times. But yet there was something defective in this knight's military character, nor did he do his duty at the battle of Patay. The historians speak of that event in this manner. The French king marched into Bunec against the English troops, amounting to six thousand men, encamped near Patay under the command of Talbot ; and attacked them so suddenly, that they had not time to be formed. When the English were charged, such was their panic and confusion, that the greater part of them fled  
 without

without making the least resistance; and Sir John Fastolf himself was hurried away in the midst of the fugitives. The Lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, maintained the battle with great valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and two thousand of their men lay dead on the field of battle; then they were obliged to yield to the fortune of the day, and were taken prisoners with other officers of distinction. Now, Sir, this suspicion of want of courage is confirmed by a circumstance recorded in one of the letters in Paston's collection, written by a dependant of Fastolf's. This man tells us, that in Cade's insurrection, Sir John had sent his servant to Blackheath, to gain some intelligence about the rebels, and the captain, says he, made the commons to take me, and I was brought before the captain of Kent, and there was one there, who said to the captain, that I was one of Sir John Fastolf's men; and then the captain let cry treason upon me throughout all the field, and brought me with a herald before me; proclaiming openly by the same herald, that I was sent thither for to espy their puissance, from the greatest traitor that was in England or in France, as the said captain made proclamation at that time, from one Sir John Fastolf, knight; the which minished all the garrisons of Normandy, and Manns, and Mayne, the which was the cause of the losing all the King's title and right of an heritage, that he had beyond sea." This certainly points out some improper conduct of Sir John, and as if the popular dislike had arisen from his cowardice or treachery; and therefore the poet, however paradoxical it may appear, seems to be justified in painting him in the infamous colours he has done in his historical plays. Thomas Fuller is very angry with Shakspear for

such a misrepresentation of him, as he supposes. Speaking of this knight, he says, "to avouch him by many arguments valiant, is to maintain that the sun is bright, though *since* the stage hath been overlooked with his memory, making him a Thrafonical Puff and emblem of mock valour." But it is high time I should finish this Olla Podrida, which you may serve up to your friends in what manner you please, or, if you think it will not be agreeable to their palate, you may destroy it, as Horace says,

— "five flamma

"Sive mari libet Hadriano."

I am, Sir,

*Isleworth*, Your obedient humble servant,

Feb. 9, 1789.

W. DRAKE.

P. S. Since I had the honour of presenting this paper to the Society, I have met with a French author who positively asserts, contrary to my former suggestion, that Sir John Fastolf for misbehaviour at the Battle of Patay was absolutely degraded from the order of the Garter. If this was the case, Shakspear's representation of the knight is historical truth. But I am very much inclined to suspect that this account is erroneous; for in that chapter of *Ashmole*, which treats particularly of degradation, though he has mentioned all that suffered that indignity, he takes not the least notice of Sir John's having incurred a similar infamy, which he certainly would have done, had he met with any foundation in history for such an assertion; nor would Fuller have reckoned him one of the principal Worthies of

of Norfolk, or have been so lavish in his praises, if this circumstance had certainly happened to him. Besides, the genuine respect he met with in the latter part of his life, and the connection he had with the most eminent characters of his time, which appears by Fenn's Letters, render it highly improbable that the reflection of Monstrelet, the author referred to, was founded on truth.

XXV. *Observations on the Round Towers in Ireland,*  
*by the Rev. Thomas Harmer of Watesfield, Suffolk,*  
*in a Letter to the Rev. George Ashby, B. D. F. A. S.*

Read March 5, 1789.

REV. SIR,

**Y**OU doubtless remember the papers in the first volume of the Archæologia relating to those antique slender towers which are found belonging to some old churches in Scotland and Ireland, but generally at some distance from them, and which, though lofty, were not capable of holding bells of any size. Very different sentiments were entertained of the uses they were designed for: some supposing they were intended for watch-towers: some, for places of refuge to which the people might repair on any sudden alarm; some, as places of penance. The conjectures of others differed from all these. The enquiries of the learned, after all, terminated in uncertainty; and I found the uneasiness of such a state, without expecting ever to meet with any thing satisfactory upon the point.

The only *sure* way of determining the matter seemed to be,  
 either



either some authentic account of the uses *now* made of such buildings, by such as entertain the same, or nearly the same, apprehensions of religion, which the Scotch and Irish did, when these towers were built; or a clear description of the use formerly made of them, by the ancient historians of established reputation of those times, and those countries. I did not expect to meet with *either* of these; but lately running over two volumes of letters, giving an account of several foreign parts, published this year by *Signior Lusignan*, a Greek, (who after the affair of *Ali Bey* took refuge in England, and published an account of *Ali's* revolt some time since), I there found a passage, in an Appendix to those letters, giving a description of the Holy-land, which afforded me more satisfaction concerning these Towers than, I confess, I ever expected to find.

In that Appendix he tells us, that the brook Cedron runs along a valley S. E. from Jerusalem; and winding with a serpentine course, between many rocky hills, ends in the Dead sea. That about six miles distance from Jerusalem, on each side of the brook, are large caves, either formed by nature, or *hewed* out of the solid rock, formerly inhabited by hermits, which grottoes continue to the end of it, about 12 or 14 miles from Jerusalem. That among these is a grotto (in which the three wise men are said to have taken up a temporary abode in their return from Bethlehem), which, in the latter end of the 4th century, was inhabited by Theodosius, chief of the hermits, and at length became a convent, which is now in ruins. That to the S. E. of this place, about a mile distant, is the present monastery of *St. Sabba*, built on the cliff of a hill close to the brook, surrounded with a stone-wall, 8 feet thick, and 26 high,

high, in circumference above a mile. “ On the outside of the  
 “ walls, and on the west, is a square tower of three stories,  
 “ and twelve yards in diameter, in which two or three hermits  
 “ shut themselves, who live in a very austere manner. On the  
 “ upper story is a bell, which, whenever any visitors come  
 “ from Jerusalem, is rung to give notice to the door-keeper of the  
 “ convent for their reception. On the same quarter is the gate  
 “ of the monastery, which is kept always locked, on account  
 “ of the Arabs, who are very troublesome to the society of  
 “ this convent [a].”

Now by this account it appears, that the great design of this *detached tower* was to give timely notice of the approach of strangers, in a country very much harrassed by the Arabs that live in it under tents, and who are very troublesome to the more settled inhabitants; which is done by a *bell* from the upper story, from whence was the most *extensive prospect*. But along with this it seems to be put to another use, being inhabited by persons who live in a very austere manner, in other words doing penance. But it appears not to be used as a place of refuge, for people to retire to in times of danger; nor could it be wanted for that purpose, the monastery, which is near it, being so strong, and at the same time so capacious; nor could it be wanted to call people to their devotions, there being no other persons, it seems, to be summoned, but those inclosed within the walls of the convent, in this retired place.

Satisfactory, however, as this account appears to be in general, a more distinct and particular one as to some circum-

[a] Vol. II. p. 160—163.

stances being wanted, I thought it might be right, as I had some little knowledge of the author of this account, to consult him as to some circumstances; and he very obligingly communicated to me the following eclaircissements, in two letters which I received from him.

He tells me that the mode of living of the Hermits, as he calls them, in the tower, is more severe, *as to diet*, than of those in the convent, though that, I believe, you will think, sufficiently austere. He had informed the world, in his printed account, that those who live in the monastery are in number from 20 to 30. These, he said, “ taste victuals once a day, “ which, in general, is bread and pulse, or greens boiled, without any oil or butter, except on Saturdays and Sundays: on “ these two days they are indulged with rice and butter, and “ sometimes with salt-fish, as they never eat any kind of flesh. “ Their drink also is water, except on the aforesaid days, in which “ every one has half a pint of wine [b].” But as to those in the tower, the first letter I received from him on this subject, dated Sept. 11, 1783, assures me, that *they*, “ who seldom exceed the “ number of *three*, abide there willingly, and for their provision “ have biscuit and pulse, which is made use of *every other* “ *day*. Their drink is water from the cistern, *which is in the tower*. “ Their diet and life is rather more austere than that of those “ in the monastery, as *they* eat once a day, while these every “ other other day: their work is prayers and meditation on sacred books, as likewise is that of those of the monastery, “ except a few, who employ themselves at leisure-hours in

[b] P. 164.

“ copying books.” Eating only once every other day is certainly a greater mortification than eating once every day ; and when we add to this the care of watching the approach of strangers, their situation is considerably more painful than that of those in the convent. Whether this sort of penance is voluntarily inflicted on themselves, or only voluntarily submitted to, in consequence of the chastising power of the superior of the convent, is not, I think, perfectly clear from Signior Luffignan’s account : probably their retirement to the tower might be sometimes owing to the one cause, sometimes to the other. It *must* certainly be voluntary in one sense, since they could have left the tower when they pleased.

This tower, the letter farther informed me, is built on rocky ground, and *higher* than that on which the monastery stands. Its distance *more than 50 yards* towards the W. of it [c].

The *height* of the door of the tower belonging to St. Sabba is a circumstance, in which it appears to agree with the Scotch and Irish towers : for he says, in this letter, “ the entrance to it  
“ is by a stone stair-case of 14 steps, and is distant from the walls  
“ of the tower about 12 feet. On the top of the stair-case is  
“ a drawbridge, which communicates with the door of the  
“ tower, to which are chains fixed on each side, and it is hoisted  
“ up from the inside of the door, and never let down except  
“ necessity requires.”

In his printed account he observes, that, “ in the 7th century,  
“ the nation called Abares, *a Saracen tribe*, massacred fourteen

[d] It is to be remembered here, his measures are given only from recollection, therefore may not be perfectly exact.

thousand hermits, who inhabited the banks of this brook [d].” He enlarges the account of this matter in this letter: “The  
“ monastery was built in the beginning of the 6th century, as  
“ likewise the tower, which, I think, in former times served  
“ as a guard-house to this convent, as the tribe of Abares were  
“ very troublesome in that time to the society. The Arabs, at  
“ present, though troublesome in asking daily food from the  
“ Society, which yet as they obtain their request, never at-  
“ tempt to molest the walls to break in.” But though they do  
not attempt to scale the walls, they may be very perplexing still,  
by intercepting the caravans that bring them corn or biscuit, and  
other provisions, and might seize on the religious whenever their  
occasions led them beyond the walls of St. Sabba, as the Arabs  
about Mount Sinai are wont to behave towards the celebrated  
monastery there [e].

One would be apt to think, from what is said in the printed  
account, p. 163, that there was a bell *in* the upper story of  
the tower, which was rung to give notice of the approach of  
strangers; but Lusignan explains the matter otherwise. In this  
letter he says, that “ from one of the uppermost windows  
“ of the towers is a *wire* which communicates to the mo-  
“ nastery; on the end of it is a *bell*. When the hermits spy  
“ any company coming from Jerusalem, they pull it to give no-  
“ tice to the Society to open the gate, as it is always bolted up,  
“ and they never open it except on similar occasions.”

Nor is this bell used, it seems, for any other purposes, at  
least not to call people to their devotions there, as he has told

[d] Cedron, p. 170.

[e] See Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 438, 439, 4to. Ed.

me in another letter, which I received after that of Sept. 11.  
 “ The monasteries of St. Sabba are called to prayers by the clerk,  
 “ not by the sound of the bell, as it is not permitted in those  
 “ parts of the Turkish dominions, but by knocking at [on] a  
 “ long board made on purpose, in which time all are gathered  
 “ in the *Cyriacon*, or great church, and not in the chapels,”  
 except on the days of the different saints, to which, as he in-  
 formed me in very broken English, the chapels were dedi-  
 cated. The tower then is not *now* made use of for the calling  
 a congregation to worship by the sound of a *bell*, or *any other*  
*instrument of music*, or by an *human voice*, for which last purpose  
 the Mohammedans built their minarets [*f*]. It could not have been  
 designed for such a purpose at first (which, if it was in the be-  
 ginning of the 6th century, was not only before they were  
 over-awed by the Mohammedan power, but before Mohammed  
 introduced his new religion), for in such a case it would have  
 been more commodiously built in the middle of the convent, the  
 religious there being the only people to be called, the country  
 round about being then, as it is now, uninhabited [*g*], except by  
 the hermits, who had chapels of their own adjoining to their  
 cells, whose ruins may yet be seen there [*h*]. It was on account  
 of the solitude of the place they chose to make their habitation  
 in that part of the country.

It is fortunate that Signior Lusignan has given an account of  
*this tower*, having frequently visited the place when in the Holy-

[*f*] Very slender towers belonging to their Mosques.

[*g*] See p. 171, where he calls it a *Wilderness* formerly inhabited.

[*h*] P. 161.

land, since he does not, he tells me in these letters, recollect that he ever saw any other tower of this kind *in that country*, or *any where else*, except on *Mount Athos*.

No churches, perhaps, are to be found in England, that are entire, whose erection was prior to the introduction of bells, to call people to worship; but, if there should be such found, these sacred towers, commonly called steeples, may be found adjoining to, or pretty near them, either built as watch-towers, or, if in places where no dangers were apprehended, for ornament, such watch-towers having struck them as a beauty. It is certain, in our more embellished churches, two, or three, or perhaps more of these towers have been built, and could not all be intended for the reception of bells.

I am, Sir,

Watesfield, Suffolk,

Oct. 7, 1788.

Your faithful humble servant,

THOMAS HARMER.

XXVI. *Some Observations on the Roman Station Cata-  
raetonium, with an account of Antiquities in the  
neighbourhood of Piersbridge and Gainford. By  
John Cade, Esq. in a Letter to Richard Gough,  
Dir. A. S.*

Read March 27, 1789.

S I R,

UPON a survey of the great military Roman ways and  
stations in this neighbourhood, I could not help noticing  
the many conjectures concerning the etymon, site, and celebrity  
of the ancient city *Cataraetonium*, *Cateraeton*, or *Cateraeta*, for  
by such several variations we find it mentioned by Ptolemy,  
the Itinerary ascribed to Antoninus, Bede, Camden, Burton,  
and other authors. Our great antiquary supposes it might  
derive its name from the *Cataraet* in the Swale at Richmond,  
four miles higher up the river, and an anonymous author un-  
der the signature of *Easenbyensis* published some years since in the  
Gentleman's Magazine deduces it from *Caraetacus*, son of Cu-  
nobiline, who, he contends, might have been born at this place,  
or have made it his residence when he put himself under the  
protection of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes.



Richard of Cirencester says little to our purpose, his annotation *Latio jure donata* excepted, and I am not possessed of the *Notitia*, or Horsley's elaborate work, the *Britannia Romana*, to help me in my researches. You see then, Sir, that all, or most of those writers have left us in a labyrinth, and several of them frankly acknowledge that they have oftentimes been undetermined in respect to the situation of the place.

Doctor Drake, in his voluminous work the *Eboracum*, scarce handles the subject, although he has been lavish on his favourite *Ifurium*, and some other stations; while this, from its eminence laid claim to a very minute enquiry.

I shall endeavour therefore, with as much caution and respect to the venerable names I have quoted as circumstances will admit, to hazard a conjecture or two on a subject that has employed the talents and the pens of our ablest antiquaries, not doubting your kind indulgence in an attempt at this arduous undertaking.

Some authors assert, that the Roman name of the river Swale was *Ifis*, which after running a few miles farther southwards, joins the *Eure*, from which junction we have the station *Ifurium*. That it was esteemed a sacred river we have the authority of the great Camden, and other writers, when they relate that Paulinus, archbishop of York, baptized above ten thousand persons at or near Catterick; but whether it was accounted so before that period, we are totally uninformed. I am induced to think it was, and that the good prelate preferred it on that very account, well knowing the veneration that our British and Saxon ancestors retained for their consecrated rivers and fountains; a superstition that remains at many places to this day, and which I have often seen practised.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy confers no small honour on the ancient *Cataracton* in his second Book of Geography, from thence taking an observation of the posture of the Heavens describing the xxivth parallel through this place, making it distant from the equator fifty seven degrees.

Mr. Pennant in his third volume of a Tour through Scotland, page 159, says, that the literal translation of *Catter-thun*, a large fortification in the shire of Angus, is *Camp-town*, and we have a further corroboration of this ingenious gentleman's interpretation from the ancient town *Catherlogh* in Ireland, now softened into *Carlow*; from which I would conclude that camps, stations, and cities, with the Britons and Romans were frequently synonymous terms, and perhaps applied indiscriminately in the Itineraries.

*Catar ac thun* according to Pennant's interpretation of *Catter-thun* will be the best derivation of *Cataracton*: the Roman termination *ium*, was common to many stations: to mention only *Mancunium*, *Coccium*, *Ifurium*.

Ptolemy's reference favours the conjecture, and no place could be better adapted for the purpose of astronomical observations. The learned compiler of the *Magna Britannia* positively says, that the observations alluded to by the great Alexandrian astronomer were taken at this place, perhaps by a disciple of his own, or at least one whose accuracy he could confide in, or he would not have inserted a principle of such importance in his *Great Construction*; a conjecture not overstrained as the 20th Legion styled *Cretica*, then stationed at *West-Chester* (no great distance) by *Agricola*, was so denominated from an island but a little north-west from *Alexandria*, and perhaps composed of Africans and Asiatics, as well as the native *Cretes*.

It

It likewise appears very probable that scientific persons of every degree would be stimulated to participate in an enterprise of such importance to the Roman name and empire. And here we may remark what a glorious opportunity occurred for the rapid progress of Christianity and civilization in Britain, in opposition to the wild chimeras of some writers, who would postpone those blessed events to a much later period. The British church was respectable some centuries before the arrival of St. Augustine, but unhappily eclipsed by the contending interests of a divided monarchy, and the frequent depredations of piratical invaders.

I would ask before we proceed, why was *Cataracton* distinguished before *Eboracum*, the metropolis of Roman Britain by those astronomical observations. The reason seem obvious; it was a place better situated for the purpose, in the centre of the great military ways after they had united in a direct line to the *Valium* and Caledonian stations. Here the legions or cohorts might receive their final instructions, be accommodated with plans, charts, &c. of the roads, camps, posts, stations, and havens, with other useful and necessary directions; when a traverse round by York would have been inconvenient, and perhaps a great impediment in cases of emergency, as any person may readily observe by a reference to Dr. Drake's map of the Roman roads in that county; but York has had its historian, and Catterick is almost buried in oblivion. The accurate and curious treatise published by the learned Mr. Gibbon on the Roman policy in regard to the public roads, posts, accommodations, and expedition of conveying the most distant intelligence, will illustrate this point, and is much to our purpose. The municipia and colonies of Britain, evidently enjoyed all the advantages of those salutary regulations. Tacitus informs

us how strenuous Agricola was in refining the manners of our rude ancestors, the fora, public baths, and all the luxuries of a polished nation, were adopted with avidity, even in his time. What then might we not expect in after-ages? If, from what has been recited, any conclusions will be admitted of this place being honoured with an academy for the study and cultivation of the sciences, I should apprehend that the high mount mentioned by Camden and other authors was the place set apart for astronomical observations. I have many times contemplated the remains, and cannot help being an enthusiast in my determinations. Our famous seminaries at Oxford and Cambridge are at a distance from the metropolis, set apart from the hurry and inconveniences of state and commerce. The Romans, no doubt, with their usual sagacity, foresaw the necessity of such a precaution. The allurements of a court with its attendant concomitants were no ways adapted to the progress of science. Here we have three separate divisions within the limits of old Cataractonium, viz. the village now called *Catterick-burgh*, the seat of Sir John Lawson, Bart. and *Thornburgh* nigh the bridge; a circumstance that claims particular notice, and is decisive in regard to the former magnitude and opulence of the place.

Nothing remains but an observation or two, and I shall conclude. Oxford enjoys her favourite Isis at this day; and the poem by Camden has immortalised that river: but yet, from what I have read in different authors, it has almost invariably been styled the Thames, even to its very source, in most charters prior to the Conquest; which has created a suspicion with many persons that the name has been pirated by some classical writer of that renowned seat of the Muses, and obtruded on the public as genuine. I am apprehensive that the many con-

jectures already hazarded will expose me to criticism, or I should not hesitate to say from what so likely as our Iſis, if any annals were then remaining of the splendor of the ancient Cataraeton. As for the present name of the village, *Catterick*, it seems expressive of the mounds and ruins of the place. I must beg pardon for the prolixity of this investigation, and endeavour to make amends by pointing out some roads and stations near my residence at Gainford, that I believe are yet undescribed.

That I may proceed methodically, I am under the necessity of reverting back to *Catterick*, from which place the most ancient road to the northern stations did not go in a direct line, as at this time, along what is called the *High-street*, to *Pierſbridge*, but inclined a little westward to *Aldburgh*, a place of great antiquity, as the vestiges still remaining plainly indicate. That it has been a large Roman city all writers agree; but by what name distinguished has never been ascertained that I could hear of. A pretty rivulet runs through the station; and a little to the northward, *sub urbe*, is the hamlet *Carlton*, or the *Caer* of the Britons (as I take it); of which more in the sequel. I am induced to think that *Aldburgh* may date its decline from the new military road being directed to *ad Tifam, Vinovium*, and the *Vallum*; on which account we hear of no altars, inscriptions, or other memorials of any kind found there, to assist us in our enquiries. Many other places have shared a similar fate in after-ages, by the planning out new roads, building towns and bridges, with the like circumstances; of which innumerable instances might be produced, if necessary. From

Aldburgh a road carries us by the great intrenchments near Forset and Stanwick, called *Jack Dike*, to another *ad Tisam*, or *Ovynford*, so styled in Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary, p. 142, three miles higher up the Tees than Pierisbridge. The place is now called *Barford*, near an ancient seat of the Pudseys, of which family I find Ambrose Pudsey sheriff of Yorkshire anno 1762. This is a very large station, comprising above sixty one acres, as measured for me by William Cornforth, Esq. the present lessee, the plan much resembling that given us by Doctor Stukeley of the Brill near Pancras, with a small rivulet running by it. The form nearly a square, rather inclining to a parallelogram, with a ditch to the east, south, and west sides, the Tees being the barrier northwards. The divisions have been all regular; the foundations at present stone, and have crossed each other at right angles; the prætorium or arx nearly central and rather elevated. I think there is every reason to ascribe its origin to Agricola, it being a nameless station, chosen with much precaution; for on the opposite side of the river is an old stronghold, on an eminence which I apprehend to have been British, near the village called *Winstone*, the brook *Grant* (which our modern map-makers style *Langley Beck*) running hard by it. The common name ascribed to the station we are treating of at Barford has long been called *Old Richmond*, for no other reason, I suppose, than its magnitude; as it is well known the original seat of the earls of Bretagne and Richmond was at Gilling, a few miles more to the south. I dare not venture to transpose *Maglovæ* from Greta-bridge hither, though there appear some remains in the name of *Ovynford*; the vicinity of the former place to *Lavatræ* (the distance being not more than three  
or

or four miles) has often induced me to think that it was only a winter station to the other at that dreary and exposed village Bowes bordering on Stanmore; but this I give as conjecture only, with a remark that *Maglovæ* is not set down in the Itineraries of Antoninus or Richard of Cirencester. However, a place named *Ovington*, about two miles more to the west, has seemingly risen from this *Owynford*, which could never be the *ad Tisam* before mentioned, for the banks of the Tees are very high and steep there on both sides, and no possibility of a ford for military purposes. Whereas at the other place the vestiges of the old Roman way are still very conspicuous along the west side of the station, across the Tees, and, passing the supposed British camp before noticed, proceeds by Aldwent, Stainthorp, and Cockfield northwards. And here I must refer to a ‘ curious  
‘ survey, published by Mr. Bailey in the Antiquarian Repertory,  
‘ in the year 1777, of the intrenchments and camps upon Cock-  
‘ field Fell, by the river Gaunless, in the road to Stanhope and  
‘ Lancaster: one of the intrenchments is one thousand and  
‘ twenty yards long, and in some places very deep. The ex-  
‘ tent of another for guarding the road eighty yards, a part of  
‘ the east end only remaining: and at *Toft Hill*, an old fortress  
‘ of the Britons, two miles north-east of this place, is a camp  
‘ nearly square, one of its sides measuring one hundred and  
‘ forty yards.’ For the particulars of the other four camps, I  
refer to Mr. Bailey’s survey, and he says, ‘ upon plowing the  
‘ adjacent ground, several hand millstones were discovered;  
‘ likewise that about the year 1775, a mile and a half south of  
‘ Cockfield (I imagine near Reverston or Caverston) in lord  
‘ Darlington’s park at Raby, some workmen making a ha-ha  
‘ cut cross a ditch in which were found the bones of eight, or

‘ nine men. How far it had extended could not be discovered, but he imagines a considerable number of human bodies were deposited there. Near at hand is a place called *Slaughter-field*, where tradition says a great battle was fought.’ A few years since, when I was paying a visit to the late John Cuthbert, Esq. at Witton Castle, near two miles north of Toft Hill, I observed in the park many curious barrows, very much resembling some of those at Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain, with several other vestigia, which I had not leisure to examine. I mentioned this to the worthy proprietor, and found they had not escaped his notice. He assured me some of them should be explored with every possible attention, but his much lamented death happening soon afterwards prevented any further researches. Perhaps our *Ovynford* may have been derived from the Latin *Ovatio*, a petty triumph upon some victory obtained over the Britons. Tradition says that *Winston* hard by was so called on account of a decisive battle gained at that place; and I must remark that on the banks of the Tine in Northumberland, near Prudhoe Castle, are two villages, called *Ovington* and *Ovingham*. If any altars or inscriptions were found at the station near Barford, it is to be presumed they have been applied towards erecting an old church or chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence, still remaining close by the place but long disused and the family seat of the Pudseys, which is of great antiquity, no doubt partook likewise of the spoils. There is a good stone quarry at the foot of a mount adjoining, which seems to have been exploratory, but the excavations of many ages have reduced it now to a very small compass, and its remains are daily mouldering into the Tees. Before I quit this place, I must observe, that there is a *Caer* or distinct camp adjoining, as at Aldburgh  
and



and Piersbridge, and the same occurred at Maiden Castle near Durham, by which one would conjecture that the Romans on their primary subjection of the Britons did not permit them to reside within their limits; a principle adopted by the English when they became masters of Ireland; for in many considerable places in that kingdom there are adjoining districts distinguished by the epithet English and Irish towns. Cromwell adopted the same policy, by allotting Connaught the most western province to the native Irish. During my residence at the vicarage house here, two coins of Nero and Domitian were dug up in the garden; and some fragments of altars, very much mutilated, I have met with in the village, but whence collected I could never learn.

I am sorry my researches will not enable me to give a more satisfactory account of the many remarkable places near the banks of the Tees, that demand particular attention from the antiquary. *Caldwell*, about two or three miles southward, has been a very considerable place, and of great antiquity near the Herman-street leading to Gretabridge and Lavatræ, between which stations another road has branched off in a direct line, and crossed the Tees at Thorngate, a street so called, at Barnard Castle, to Stretham, the vallum, &c. It is obvious, therefore, that town must have been a Roman station. I quote the authority of the learned Mr. Roger Gale, who, in a letter to Mr. Warburton, published in the *Vallum Romanum*, says, he never knew the appellation *Tborn* without a station near at hand; but no doubt the compiler of our elaborate County History will scrutinize into this point with the same minuteness and accuracy as that of Maiden Castle near Durham, where

Doctor

Doctor Stukeley's remarks are applied to a hill on the west side of the Were, though he expressly says the contrary, and further, that the rivulet which surrounds near one half of the camp comes likewise from the east, as may be observed by a reference to his *Iter Boreale*, p. 70, and if I am not mistaken (for I have not the work) in Mr. Hutchinson's note. I dare say the place had been pointed out to Dr. Stukeley by the late Doctor Hunter, a gentleman well read in antiquities, having made them his study for many years; and it is no degradation to the station at Old Durham to have had a castellum for signals on the opposite side of the river; the hill was exploratory, and corroborative instances numerous; but alas! no rivulet near it.

About three miles below Barnard Castle is Wycliff, the seat of Marmaduke Tunstall, Esq. an elegant modern-built mansion, whose invaluable collections of manuscripts, books, prints, coins, and gems, besides a spacious museum stored with rare birds, and many other curiosities relating to natural history, demand in a particular manner the attention of the learned virtuoso.

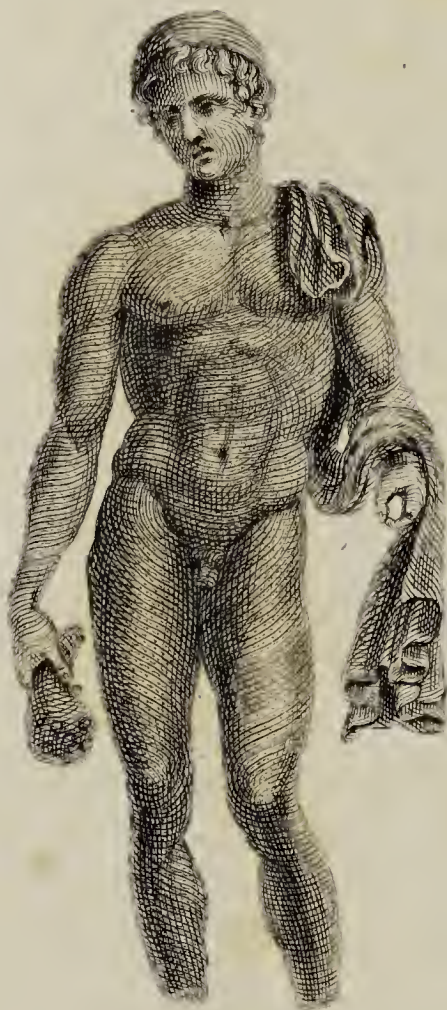
Returning back to the great military road called High-street, about a mile or better before we come to Piersbridge, on the right hand side is *Manfield*, now an insignificant village, but anciently a very considerable place, of great extent, on an elevated situation, and probably once a British oppidum, being every where bestrewed with small hillocks, resembling tumuli, and the neighbouring fields lined with the foundations of buildings and other vestigia; but nothing can be gleaned of its origin or downfall. Even tradition is silent, and I think it

has scarcely been noticed by our topographers, except in an index or map. The Border History by Mr. Ridpath informs us, that Malcolm king of Scotland made great havoc along the banks of the Tees a little time after the Conquest, and perhaps this ruined place may serve as a specimen of his devastations. Whether any inference can be deduced from its present name, I shall leave others to determine: my main purpose being to hasten to Piersbridge, the *ad Tisam* of our Richard before mentioned. But here I am aware on a cursory view of his appendage Ovyxford after Piersbridge, it may appear as if appropriated to that place only; but after pointing out the extensive remains at Barford, and referring to Dr. Stukeley's remark, p. 141, 142, of this Itinerary, we shall have every reason to conclude the contrary; if the original was compiled for Agricola's use, and before names were allotted to the different stations. The *ad Tisam* then that I am attempting to describe is situated on the north side of the Tees in the direct Roman road to *Vinovium* or Binchester; the intrenchments are very conspicuous, and the present village built within them, a few houses on the Yorkshire side excepted. The form is a parallelogram, but I think does not include so many acres as that at Barford. I purposed having an exact measurement this morning, but the great fall of snow prevented it. The Tees is the south barrier, and a small brook runs by the north side. Many coins and other antiquities have been found at this place, particularly a very fine Otho, which I am informed is now in lord Pembroke's collection. No altars that I could hear of, but what have been already noticed by Horsley and others, except some that have felt the force of the hammer and pick axe, and more prostituted to other ignoble purposes.

purposes. One is now almost buried in the road near the village, at a place called *White Cross*, but woe to the person that dares to remove it; for the superstitious vulgar used to rest the corpse upon it in their way towards interment at Gainford. The foundation piers of the old Roman bridge were said to have been swept away in the great flood 1771; and, by their long continuance in this rapid river, it might seem to have been repaired and used by our Saxon ancestors; the present bridge is higher up. A little without the station is *Carlbury* or *Caerlbury*, a narrow pass on the side of a hill in the road to Darlington, which I apprehend was another *Caer* of the Britons, from the adjunct *Bury* or *Burgh*, and perhaps formerly might include what is now called *the Tofts*, a repository of many of the antiquities that have been discovered at this station. The present name *Pierbridge* seems to originate from the old Roman bridge built upon stone piers before the fabrication of arches was attempted in Britain. Some have called it *Priestbridge*, from the adjoining old chapel; a very absurd derivation, for it is well known many other structures of that kind had the same appertaining to them, and often during the dark ages of the church, under the tutelage of St. Eligius, or Eloy, the great patron of farriers and travellers. Three miles lower down the Tees at *Blackwell* has been a very considerable artificial mount, called *Castle-hill*, designed for signals to *ad Tisam*, but within my own memory nearly absorbed by the river.

I must not omit to mention that, about two years ago, many Roman coins were ploughed up at a place called *Thornton* near Darlington. I believe they amounted to some hundreds, were





*Bronze figure of Mercury found at Pierbridge.*

deposited in an urn, and mostly of Constantine and his sons, in very fine preservation.

To conclude: you will observe, Sir, that I have ventured to make Agricola's progress northwards by the old Molmutian way, if any such was in being before the arrival of Julius Cæsar. What are now called the great military Roman roads were undoubtedly constructed in the more settled epochs of the empire, after stations and cities began to be built, an employment necessary for the legions and enterprising Britons. If these rambling remarks will be of any service to your valuable work, the new edition of the Britannia, you are heartily welcome to them; and believe me, with the greatest respect,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

Gainford, Dec. 22, 1788.

J O H N C A D E.

P. S. Upon making some further enquiries after the antiquities of *Pierbridge*, I was informed of an inscription on a stone which had some years since been ploughed up in an adjoining field, and was now built up in a wall near a cottage. It is of red grit, and measures 9 inches by about 5; the letters are excellently well cut. It has been broken off at the last C, and part of the second M has likewise been injured,

M. D. O.  
M. P. C. C.

Since I wrote to you there has luckily come into my possession a most elegant metal statue of Mercury [a],

[a] See it engraved, Pl. XIX.

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which

which measures four inches and a quarter in its present state. It has been something longer, but the feet with the pedestal on which it stood and the caduceus are unfortunately lost. This figure far exceeds in gracefulness and beauty that in the Museum Romanum, sect. 2, N<sup>o</sup> 8, of which it had a resemblance. It was found in a garden at Piersbridge a few years since, not far from the above inscription, which I now am inclined to think has belonged to some temple or altar dedicated to this deity, whether by any person of the name of *Cerealis* or of any other name with the same initial is not easy to say; but by examining Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, I find a votive altar, N<sup>o</sup> xxxv. in Scotland, the inscription on which runs thus: *Deo Mercurio Julius Cerealis censor sigillorum collegii ligniferorum cultorum ejus de suo dedit votum solvit libens merito.* The letters and points on the altar given by Horsley appear to be of a much later date than the Piersbridge inscription.

I have sent the above curiosity along with the papers mentioned in my last, and shall be obliged to you, Sir, to shew it to the Society of Antiquaries. If they chuse to have an engraving from it, I will order it to remain in their hands for that purpose, as long as they shall think necessary.

By a strict attention to Mr. Horsley's *Essay on the Notitia*, I am certain that he has made a capital mistake in regard to the magnitude and extent of Cataractonium, which has comprised the whole space between the village of Catterick and the bridge, including likewise both Thornburgh and Burgh, the seat of Sir John Lawson, Bart. I observed the ramparts very conspicuous near the village, and some works on the other side of the brook southwards, that runs through the place. I am more persuaded by a reference to this *Essay* that the Barford station has been ei-



ther the *Maglovæ*, *Magae*, or *Magi*, of the Notitia. It is larger by one acre than *Ifurium Brigantum*, and has every requisite of a Roman station. If the *Dunum æstuarium* of Ptolemy be the estuary of Tees, Middleburgh on the Yorkshire coast I apprehend has been the Roman town. My conjectures on the antient Cataractonium are briefly as follow: Burgh has been the quarter that included the mint; Thornburgh the station; and the limits of the city from the village to the bridge.

When I observed at the beginning of this letter—that the 20th legion, called *Cretica*, was stationed at West Chester by Agricola, I should have said—before the first arrival of that general in Britain;—and what follows was on a presumption that legion was recruited for some time from Crete and parts adjacent, as some regiments in our service are recruited from different places at present.

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XXVII. *Observations on the persons called Waldenses, who were formerly Tenants of the Manor of Darent, in the County of Kent. By the Rev. Samuel Denne, F. A. S. in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Brand, Secretary.*

Read April 2, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

**I**N the *Custumale Roffense* lately published by Mr. Thorpe, under the title, *Jurati de Derente; de consuetudinibus et redditibus*, p. 5, col. 2. are mentioned the rents due and services to be performed by a class of tenants styled *Waldenses*; and in this paper, which I will trouble you to communicate to our Society, it is my purpose to hazard a conjecture who might be the persons here meant. A few months ago, when I cursorily hinted the subject to you, it seemed to be your opinion, if I did not misapprehend it, that they might have been natives of the Weald of Kent or of Wales; but I must own, their having acquired this name from either incident appears to me to be not a little questionable. The Weald of Kent was formerly a very extensive tract. *Homines de Walda* is the term, by which,

as

as far as I can trace, the inhabitants of it were distinguished; and numerous as are the MSS. relative to them and the district, cited by Somner and other writers, it is extraordinary that the word *Waldenses* is not to be found in one of them, if at any time they were so denominated. With regard to the inhabitants of Wales, *Wallani*, *Wallici*, and *Wallenses*, are the only Latin appellations of them I have met with. That *Waldenses* is the true reading in *Costumale Roffense*, there can hardly be a doubt, because Dr. Harris, Mr. Baynard, the gentleman who copied the MS. for Dr. Thorpe, and Dr. Thorpe who collated his transcript, all concur in it. And it is observable that there is a repetition of the word.

*Waldenses* is, besides, a word of notoriety. The reputed heretics, who originated in the vallies of Piedmont, first bore the name; but it was afterwards applied to many sects, which, though differing from one another in a variety of articles, concurred in dissenting from the tenets of the church of Rome, and in renouncing the dominion of its pontiff. It is upon this ground that I am inclined to adopt a notion, that the *Waldenses* settled in Darenth manor, might be descendants of that religious society, which under the name of *Publicans*, were condemned by a council held at Oxford in the reign of Henry II. William of Newburgh has given a circumstantial detail of these sectaries, a transcript of which is inclosed, as I shall often have occasion to refer to it in discussing this question. And should I fail in establishing my surmise, I trust I shall succeed in shewing it to be most probable, that the King, with the prelates assembled at the synod, and the people of that time, did not unite in persecuting to death these German emigrants; a heavy charge imputed by  
this

this monkish writer, and in general acceded to by subsequent historians.

The conjecture advanced, I am well aware, labours under two objections, which are not, I think, irremovable. One respects the name of these sectarists, who are styled *Publicans*, and not *Waldenses*; the other is, that, if credit is to be given to this writer, they were very soon extirpated. Newburgh has, however, expressed himself doubtfully as to the title he has given these people; for he says, they were, as it is believed, of the sort vulgarly called *Publicans*. And I am not singular in considering them as being *Waldenses*. They are so termed by Spelman in his Councils [a]; by Plott, in his History of Oxfordshire [b], and repeatedly by Lewis in his Life of Bishop Pecock [c]. Rapin also notices them as disciples of the *Waldenses* [d].

Lord Lyttelton thinks they have been improperly confounded by historians with the Vaudois and Waldenses [e]; and he founds his objection on a notion that the Vaudois and Waldenses, though they held the same tenets, had a very different origin; the Vaudois being inhabitants of Piedmont, and the Waldenses deriving their name from Peter Waldus of Lyons, who did not make any profelytes to his doctrine till some years after the arrival of these Germans in England. A contrary opinion is espoused, and as it should seem upon substantial grounds, by many celebrated writers, and particularly by the judicious and

[a] Wilkins, Concil. Magn. Britan. I. p. 438.

[b] P. 20.

[c] P. 223.

[d] Hist. of England by Tindal, fol. edit. v. I. p. 350.

[e] History of the Life of Henry II. 8vo. edit. iv. p. 113, 392.

learned translator of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History [f]. Though Newburgh believed them to be of the sect called *Publicans*, yet some authors have denominated them *Paterini*, and others *Cathari*, or *Puritans*. To the latter opinion the noble historian inclines, suggesting however, at the same time a strange conceit, that Gerard, the leader of this community, cautiously avoided explaining what were the secrets of the most obnoxious errors which the *Cathari*, after the *Manichæans*, entertained concerning the Deity, and the formation of the visible world by the devil; and his lordship as unaccountably adds, that the bishops, who composed the council at Oxford, declined pressing the accused upon these mysterious subjects.

On the contrary we find from the report of the monkish writer, that these sectaries, when interrogated in order *touching the articles of the holy faith, answered right as to the substance of the supreme physician, but that their perverseness was as to the remedies, i. e. the divine Sacraments, with which he condescends to heal the infirmities of men* [g]. Their perverse answer concerning  
the

[f] Cent. xii. part ii. c. v. 3. xi. note g.

[g] "Christianos se esse, et doctrinam apostolicam venerari responderunt. Interrogati per ordinem de sacræ fidei articulis; *de substantia quidem supremi medici recta, de ejus vero remediis, quibus humanæ infirmitati mederi dignatur, id est, divinis sacramentis, perversa dixerunt; sacrum baptisma, eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes.*"

The words printed in Italics in this extract are not noticed by Lord Lyttelton.

The passage is rendered as follows by Rapin, Collier, and Dr. Henry.

By Rapin; being questioned upon the articles of the creed, their replies were very orthodox as to the *Trinity, and Incarnation.*

By Collier in Ecclesiastical History, v. i. p. 347. They answered, that they were Christians, and that the doctrine of the Apostles was their rule of faith.

But

the Sacraments, Newburgh immediately after describes in stronger terms; for he avers, that they detested baptism, the eucharist, and marriage, and wickedly attempted to derogate from the catholick unity. Representations of this nature, so often tinged with the reigning prejudices and superstitions of the age, must be read with great caution and allowance, especially when drawn by writers of the Romish persuasion; with whom it is a common mark of what they term heresy, not to assent fully to the notions taught by their church concerning the Sacraments.

Gerard and his followers, it may be reasonably supposed, might not admit marriage to be a sacrament, and they might object to the unscriptural rites introduced into the sacrament of baptism. They might, and most probably did, protest with abhorrence against the monstrous doctrine of the real presence, and venerating as true Christians the apostolical doctrines, they might refuse to unite with a church, which, notwithstanding its errors and corruptions, exclusively assumes to itself the title of catholic. And such were the tenets of the *Waldenses*; not that the conjecture I have proposed renders it necessary that the persons condemned by the Oxford council should then have acquired that appellation; it will be sufficient for my purpose, if they were ranged under that sect at the time that the *Custumale*

But being thrown off this general answer, and questioned more particularly about the creed, they seemed sufficiently *orthodox* about the *Trinity and Incarnation*.

By Dr. Henry, in History of England; vol. III. p. 241. Upon a more particular inquiry it was found, that they denied several of the received doctrines of the church, as *purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints*.

Roffense was compiled, which was early in the fourteenth century; and, as I apprehend, before the beginning of the fifteenth, the Latins included all opponents of the Roman see under the general terms of *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*.

The other weighty objection to my surmise is, the historian's having informed us that in consequence of the determination of the council at Oxford, that no one should pity or administer any relief to these criminals, they all miserably perished from a want of food, and from the inclemency of the weather in the depth of winter. But it may be proper to enquire on what evidence is advanced an assertion that reflects so much infamy on the people of that age. And it is worthy of notice, that though the King was present at this council, and consented to the punishing of these foreigners, the proceedings of it are not recorded among his public acts, nor have the decrees of this synodical meeting yet been found in any episcopal register. As far as my examination has reached, there are only two contemporary writers who have mentioned this transaction, Radulphus de Diceto [g], and William of Newburgh, and of him it is said that he did not compile his Chronicle till he was far advanced in years [b]. In the recital of this story it is, I think, very plain, that he trusted to his memory, and not to any written minutes he might have formerly made concerning it. I am warranted in this supposition from the indefinite manner in which he notices the time when this synod assembled, for he blends it with the years of archbishop Theobald's death, which was in 1166, of Becket's appointment to the see of Canterbury

[g] Decem Script. p. 104. 512. 519.

[b] Tanner Biblioth. Britan. & Hibern. p. 595. ex Lelandæ.

in 1162, and of the council of Toulouse held in 1163 [i]. Stowe seems to have been misled by this vague account, for he fixes the Oxford synod in 1161; whereas, according to Diceto, who was a far more methodical and exact historian than Newburgh, it was in 1166; and he has intermixed it with so many other indubitable contemporary transactions, that he could hardly have been mistaken.

Besides Newburgh does not recite the whole, or any part of this story, as of his own knowledge, nor has he, as in many other instances, averred his having heard it from persons of veracity. There can be little doubt of his having received it by common fame, a most uncertain mode of conveyance, which merits even less weight than a paragraph in a modern newspaper, that is unsupported by authority. A tale of this kind in travelling from Oxford to a monastery in the distant part of Yorkshire would acquire many additional fabulous circumstances; and when there was a propensity to believe it to be true, and a cordial wish that it might be really so; a monk, to whom it was told, would credit it with an easy acquiescence, and in perpetuating it, not scruple to aggravate and embellish it.

How far this remark is applicable to William of Newburgh is submitted to the judgment of any impartial reader of his history. That he had a very large portion of credulity is evident from the many marvellous tales to which he has given his sanction: and that the supposed calamitous catastrophe of these strangers coincided with his own inclination, is equally mani-

[i] *Iisdem diebus.*



felt from his avowal, that their perishing from cold and hunger was a pious rigour of severity; notwithstanding the sufferers are allowed by himself to have been believers of the essential doctrines of Christianity.

This being also admitted by the bishops who composed the synod, and as from the silence of the historian it may be inferred that these sectaries were in their manners inoffensive, nothing but the evil spirit of persecution could have prompted their judges to deliver them up to the civil magistrate. It was the more culpable in the prelates, because there was so little ground for an alarm of their propagating with success their peculiar tenets. For though they seem to have resided some time in England, they only converted one woman of inferior rank; and she was so slightly attached to them, that she was soon prevailed on to confess her errors, and forsake their society. And as they were not disturbers of the public peace, it is somewhat strange, that the king, whose disposition was humane and benign, should think these people merited branding and exile: for with respect to his having commanded them to be whipt through the streets of Oxford, this circumstance is not mentioned by Diceto. It was however during the contest between Henry and Becket in support of the just rights of his crown, that this occurrence happened; and his hard usage of these foreigners has been attributed to an unwillingness of affording a pretext to the Pope and his adherents to charge him with profaneness, or an inattention to the cause of religion.

By the council of Tours held in 1163 catholic princes were exhorted and directed to imprison all heretics discovered

within their dominions, and to confiscate their effects. Of this injunction Henry could not be ignorant, and he might be actuated by it to treat the delinquents with more rigour than he would otherwise have done. It was likewise an article of this canon, that no persons whatever should receive, deal with, or entertain heretics; or in other words, they were excommunicated. But excommunication did not imply, that those who were the objects of it should be suffered to perish from a want of the necessaries of life; had that been the meaning of the term, the calling-in of the secular arm to inflict corporal pains and penalties would have been superfluous. In this interpretation I am countenanced by the opinion of a learned writer of the twelfth century, who admitted that one might entertain persons lying under this censure of the church, provided he did not eat with or salute them [k]. And it is clear from Hoveden, that such was the treatment which the murderers of Becket experienced, after they, together with all who knowingly received or harboured them, were anathematized by the Pope. All persons, writes this historian, avoided their conversation, nor would any one eat with them [l]. Why then are we to suppose that the heretics at Oxford, by being excommunicated, should be condemned to suffer a greater punishment than persons guilty of the most atrocious crime, and that heightened by the peculiar enormity, that the victim of their malice was the first ecclesiastic in the kingdom, and that he was assassinated near an altar in his own cathedral?

[k] John, bishop of Chartres. Dupin's Eccles. Hist. 12 Cent. p. 17.

[l] Hoveden, Annal. p. 299.

It is mentioned by Hoveden [*m*] that Henry, about seven years before his death, would not agree to the burning of heretics in his dominions, though at that time they were become numerous. Lewis supposes this refusal to have arisen from his uneasiness at having been the instrument of the death of the German Publicans [*n*]; but from the general conduct of the king, and his fixed forbearance in the instance cited from Hoveden, ought we not rather to infer, that he would not formerly have denounced against delinquents of this class any sentence that might affect their lives or limbs? His commendable behaviour abroad will, in my opinion, justify a conclusion that what Newburgh relates concerning the extirpation of the sectarists at Oxford from a strict obedience to Henry's injunctions, may have been an invention of the historian, in hopes of discouraging in England the progress of a reformation, which was then working in many other parts of Europe.

Newburgh, in his sketch of the character of Henry, observes, that he had a dread and horror about sacrificing the lives of men, and to risque the shedding of blood [*o*]; an eulogy far from being applicable to the king, had he doomed to a lingering and painful end more than thirty persons. But we have the bare assertion of a bigotted monk that this was their deplorable fate.

[*m*] Publicani comburebantur in pluribus locis per regnum Franciæ, quod rex nullo modo fieri permisit in terra sua, licet ibi essent per plurimi. Annales, p. 352. b. sub ann. 1182. This incident, though so much to the credit of Henry II. is, I think, unnoticed by his noble Biographer.

[*n*] Life of Bishop Pecock, p. 176.

[*o*] Discrimen sanguinis et mortes hominum exhorrescens. L. iii. c. xxvi. p. 342.

On such questionable evidence justice will exculpate Henry from so odious an imputation; and candour incline us to believe that upon cool reflection, by exerting the noble prerogative of an English king, he would mitigate the rigour of a sentence which political expedience might have drawn from him.

These people, according to Newburgh, were to be expelled from Oxford; but, as Diceto relates, they were to be banished out of the realm. If only the milder exile were adjudged, is it credible, that it should have been accompanied with an injunction, that must, if complied with, have inevitably occasioned their destruction in the shocking manner detailed by the unfeeling historian? Does it not on the contrary imply a hope cherished by the king, that the corporal pains they had suffered might reclaim them from their errors? We may reasonably imagine that attempts would again be made to reclaim them; and it might occur to the bishops that no means were more likely to answer the end with respect to the greater part of them, than detaching them from their chief, whose superior knowledge, it was evident, had much weight with them. As far as we can rely on the testimony of Newburgh, a distinction was made in the punishment imposed; Gerard being branded on both forehead and cheek, and the rest on the cheek only. And if he or any of his adherents still continued incorrigible, banishment might be accounted the only method of preventing their having any further intercourse with those who were more tractable.

If the sentence were exile in general, it was yet in the power of the king to pardon all or any of the offenders at his pleasure; and he had not long before remitted the same punishment

to persons from whom he had cause to apprehend danger to the state. I allude to the foreign troops introduced by Stephen, whom Henry, in pursuance of the resolution of parliament soon after his accession, had commanded to leave the realm before a day specified in the proclamation, on pain of death for their disobedience. This edict was not however enforced upon all, for some were allowed to go to the colony of their countrymen that had been established in Wales by Henry the First [p].

An extraordinary inundation of the sea on their coast obliged these Flemings to come to England in the reign of the first William. They are said to have been industrious, skilful in husbandry, manufactures and commerce, and expert in arms; and the policy of that king and of William Rufus is much extolled for distributing them in provinces where they might be most useful, and add to the security and strength of the realm. Henry the Second being a prince of as great political wisdom, may it not be fairly presumed, that he would not forego the advantage arising from an increase of peaceable and useful subjects, in which light I cannot avoid viewing the German emigrants! From this motive, I conceive, he would direct the settling of them in a way adapted to their former occupation, which was agricultural. And supposing them to have been heretics reclaimed, what method more proper than assigning to them a tract of waste ground in a manor belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury, which was then the case with respect to the manor of Darent, though the king had seized it with other possessions of the see, on Becket's clandestinely

[p] Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. ii. p. 288, 353, 380. Trivetii Annales, i. p. 28.

going abroad, because he would not be amenable to the laws of his country.

The land allotted to the Waldenses, and the rents and services to which they were subject, as specified in *Custumale Roffense*, are as follow [q].

For certain waste land they were to pay four shillings a year. They held half a plow land of gable at three shillings and four pence; and as a composition for provision rents, they paid five shillings and four pence, at each of the four principal quarters of the year, with two and thirty pence halfpenny in lieu of autumnal labours. And when the archbishop was resident at Darent, they were to supply carriages to convey his corn and other articles; in consideration of which they were to have forage from the barns of the archbishop, and to receive their corrody.

Dr. Harris deems these Waldenses to have been foreigners, but adds, that he could not find on what account they came to Darent, or whether they set up any manufacture, or what their numbers were [r]. Circumstantial evidence, and that in some instances a little dubious, is, I freely own, all that I have adduced to support the opinion I have formed concerning them. It is, however, a question fairly open to a discussion, and that allows a scope for conjecture: and after endeavouring to procure the best information within my researches, I have only offered a surmise that appears to me to be the least exceptionable. But in order to diminish its improbability, it may be requisite to observe, that whatever may have been the country or per-

[q] *Custumale Roffense*, p. 5. & 9.

[r] *History of Kent*, p. 92.

suasion of these antient inhabitants of Darenth, their first settlement in the parish could not have been later than thirty-one years after the council of Oxford which condemned the German sectaries. For in the *Custumale Roffense* are set forth the services that were to be done by the *Waldenses*, and the other tenants, whilst the manor was annexed to the see of Canterbury; and it can be proved by original deeds still extant in the library of Lambeth house, and in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester [s], that the manor was alienated from the archbishopric in 1197, the Priory of Rochester accepting it from Hubert in exchange for the manor of Lambeth. It is likewise proper to repeat what I suggested to be the ground of my opinion, that, as far as I can learn, it is to the early Reformers that writers have exclusively appropriated the denomination of *Waldenses*.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful,

and obliged Servant,

Wilmington,  
Jan. 24, 1789.

SAM. DENNE.

[s] Bibliothec. Topogr. Britan. N° xxvii. Appendix, N° 1. Registrum Roffense, by Mr. Thorpe, p. 270.

*Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia. Lib. II. Cap. XIII.**De Hæreticis Angliam ingressis, et quomodo exterminati sunt.*

**I**ISDEM diebus erronei quidam venerunt in Angliam, ex eorum (ut creditur) genere quos vulgo *publicanos* vocant. Hi nimirum olim in Gasconiâ, incerto auctore habentes originem, regionibus plurimis virus suæ perfidiæ infuderunt. Quippe in latissimis Galliæ, Hispaniæ, Italiæ, Germaniæque provinciis tam multi hac peste infecti esse dicuntur, ut secundum prophetam, multiplicati esse super numerum videantur. Denique cum a præfulibus ecclesiarum et principibus provinciarum in eos remissius agitur, egrediuntur de caveis suis vulpes nequissimæ, et prætenta specie pietatis, seducendo simplices, vineam Domini Sabaoth tanto gravius, quanto liberius demoliuntur. Cum autem adversus eos igne Dei fidelium zelus succenditur, in suis foveis delitescunt, minusque sunt noxii: sed tamen occultum, spargendo virus nocere non desinunt. Homines rusticani et idiotæ, atque ideo ad rationem hebetes, peste vero illa semel hausta ita imbuti ut ad omnem rigeant disciplinam, unde rarissime continget eorum aliquem, cum e suis latebris prodi extrahuntur, ad pietatem converti. Sane ab hac et aliis pestibus hæreticis immunis semper extitit Anglia, cum in aliis mundi partibus tot pullulaverint hæreses. Et quidem hæc insula, cum propter incolentes Britones Britannia diceretur, Pelagium in oriente hæresiarcham futurum ex se misit, ejusque in se processu temporis errorem admisit: ad cujus peremptionem, Gallicanæ ecclesiæ



ecclesiæ pia provisio semel et iterum beatissimum direxit Germanum. At ubi hanc insulam expulsis Britonibus natic possedit Anglorum, ut non jam Britannia sed Anglia diceretur, nullius unquam ex ea pestis hæreticæ virus ebullivit: sed nec in eam aliunde usque ad tempora Henrici Secundi tanquam propagandum et dilatandum introivit. Tunc quoque, Deo propicio, pesti quæ jam irrepserat ita est obviatum, ut de cætero hanc insulam ingredi vereretur. Erant autem tam viri, quam fœminæ paulo amplius quam triginta, qui dissimulato errore, quasi pacifice huc ingressi sunt propagandæ pestis gratia duce quodam Gerardo, in quem omnes tanquam præceptorem ac principem respiciebant. Nam solus erat aliquantulum litteratus: ceteri vero sine litteris et idiotæ, homines plane impoliti et rustici, nationis et linguæ Teutonicæ. Aliquamdiu in Anglia commorantes, unam tantum mulierculam venenatis circumventam fufurris, et quibusdam (ut dicitur) fascinatam præstigiis, suo cœtui aggregarunt. Non enim diu latere potuerunt, sed quibusdam curiose indagantibus, quod peregrinæ essent sectæ deprehensi, comprehensi tentique sunt in custodia publica. Rex vero nolens eos indiscussos vel dimittere vel punire, episcopale præcepit Oxoniæ concilium congregari, ubi dum solemniter de religione convenirentur, eo, qui litteratus videbatur, suscipiente causam omnium, et loquendo pro omnibus, Christianos se esse, et doctrinam apostolicam venerari responderunt. Interrogati per ordinem de sacræ fidei articulis, de substantia quidem superni medici recte, de ejus vero remediis, quibus humanæ infirmitati mederi dignatur, id est, divinis sacramentis, perversa dixerunt; sacrum baptisma, Eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes, atque unitati Catholicæ, quam hæc divina imbuunt subsidia, ausu nefario derogantes. Cumque sumptis de scriptura

facra divinis urgerentur testimoniis, se quidem ut instituti erant credere, de fide vero sua disputare nolle responderunt. Moniti ut pœnitentiam agerent, et corpori ecclesiæ unirentur, omnem consilii salubritatem spreverunt. Minas quoque pie prætentas ut vel metu resipiscerent deriserunt, verbo illo dominico abutentes; *Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.* Tunc episcopi, ne virus hæreticum latius serperet præcaventes, eisdem publice pronunciatos hæreticos corporali disciplinæ subdendos catholico principi tradiderunt. Qui præcepit hæreticæ infamiæ characterem frontibus eorum inuri, et, spectante populo, virgis coercitos urbe expelli, districtè prohibens ne quis eos vel hospitio recipere, vel aliquo solatio confovere præsumeret. Dicta sententia, ad pœnam justissimam ducebantur gaudentes, non lentis passibus præeunte magistro eorum et canente, *Beati eritis cum vos oderint homines.* In tantum deceptis a se mentibus seductorius abutebatur spiritus. Illa quidem muliercula quam in Angli seduxerant, metu supplicii discedens ab eis, errorem confessa reconciliationem meruit. Porro detestandum illud collegium, cauteriatis frontibus, justæ severitati subjacuit; eo, qui primatum gerebat in eis, ob insigne magisterii, inustionis geminæ, id est, in fronte et circa mentum dedecus sustinente; scissisque cingulo tenus vestibus publice cæsi, et flagris resonantibus, urbe ejecti, algoris intolerantia (hiems quippe erat) nemine vel exiguum misericordiæ impendente, interierunt. Hujus severitatis pius rigor non solum a peste illa, quæ jam irreperat, Angliæ regnum purgavit, verum etiam, ne ulterius irreperet, incusso hæreticis terrore præcavit.

Ymagine Historiarum Autore Radulfo de Diceto.

X. Script. col. 539.

An. D'ni 1166. Quidam pravi dogmatis disseminatores tracti sunt in iudicium apud Oxenford, præfente rege, præfentibus et episcopis. Quos a fide nostra devios, et in examine superatos facies cauteriata notabiles cunctis exposuit expulsos a regno.

Custumale Roffense.

P. 5. Jurati de Derente, de consuetudinibus et redditibus.

Redditus de Derente.

Sic. *Waldenses* pro quidem terra wafta IIII solid.

Item tenent unum jugum terre gable III fol.

IIII denarios.

Ad Natale de firma v fol. et III den.

Ad Pascha v fol. et III den.

Ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste v fol. et VII den.

Ad festum Sancti Michaelis v fol. et III den.

Ad festum Sancti Laurentii pro operibus autumnalibus.

P. 9. Quando Manerium erat Archiepiscopo.

Et si Archiepiscopus caperet firmam suam in villa, quolibet jugatum deberet attrahere IIII carratas de bosco de Derente. Et *Waldenses* averabant tunc cum duobus averis, et habebant furrarium de horreis Archiepiscopi et corredium suum.

P. S. Of the time when William of Newburgh is said to have written his History.

With a reference to Leland, it was suggested in the preceding letter, that William of Newburgh did not compile his chronicle till he was advanced in years. Leland, unfortunately, has not cited his voucher, and two editors of the monk's history, Picard at Paris in 1610, and Hearne at Oxford in 1719, have mentioned an earlier period. But Picard's reason, to which Hearne seems too hastily to have acceded, will not, perhaps, on examination be judged satisfactory. In the MS. used by Picard, E is given as the initial letter of the name of the abbat of Rieval to whom the book is dedicated, and in his opinion, it denotes Ældred, called by Capgrave Etheldred, the second abbot of that monastery [t]. Ældred, however, died in the year 1166, and Newburgh's Chronicle is continued to 1197. This is an objection that ought to have the greater weight with Picard, because he admits that in an old MS. in England the letter E is not to be found. And that Ældred could not be the abbat alluded to may be deduced from the cause alledged by Newburgh in the dedication and proem for writing the history, from other arguments that may be drawn from the dedication, and from there being, as I apprehend, some passages, in the two first books, that, upon this idea, may be fairly deemed anachronisms.

[t] W. Neubrig. edit. Hearne. Picardi Notæ. Solitaria litera E. deerat in vetusto codice Anglicano, quem notamus literis, v. c. Hæc autem litera E. signat Ealdredum, Capgravo Etheldredum dictum, abbatem Rievallis.

To record, as a lesson of caution to posterity, the copious memorable things that had happened in their days, was the study and task which the abbat by letter assigned to Newburgh, who confesses that should he and his contemporaries not perpetuate in writing, for the information of those who came after them, transactions so many and memorable, they should be deservedly blamed for their negligence [u]. But in the reign of Stephen, and in that part of the reign of Henry II. which preceded the death of Ældred, there were not such a multitude of remarkable occurrences. Stephen by assuming the throne had frustrated the plan laid by Henry to secure it to his daughter Matilda; this was not, however, an event then extraordinary in this kingdom, there being generally rivals who aspired to the crown as often as it was vacant, nor in the civil commotions which ensued were there any very uncommon events of the occurrences which mark the reign of Henry II. His contest with Becket may be considered as the principal, but when Ældred died this was not far advanced, and the king had then a prospect of success. The murder of the archbishop, the humiliation of Henry, and the triumph of the papal see in consequence of it, transactions of the utmost importance in the opinion of ecclesiastics, were of a later date.

[u] Literas sanctitatis vestræ suscepi, quibus mihi studium et operam rerum memorabilium, quæ nostris temporibus copiosius provenerunt, ad notitiam cautelamque posterorum conscribendarum dignatur ingerere. Ibid. Dedicat. p. 1. Nostris autem temporibus tanta et tam memorabilia contigerunt, ut modernorum negligentia culpanda merito censeatur, si litterarum monumentis ad memoriam sempiternam mandatâ non fuerint. Et forte hoc opus ab aliquo seu aliquibus jam inchoatum est. Proem. p. 14.

Supposing Ældred to have been the prior to whom the book was dedicated, there is in both dedication and history a very unusual omission. Authors upon these occasions are seldom sparing of their praises, whether the objects of them may merit them or not; but if the patron happens to excell in that branch of literature in which he deigns to employ the pen of an inferior, that such a qualification should be disregarded is very improbable. And yet though Ældred had distinguished himself as an historian, there is not an inuendo of it in the dedication, or in one chapter in particular, where a compliment might have been paid with the greatest propriety. The treatises composed by Ældred, were a Narrative of the Life and Miracles of Edward the Confessor; a genealogical detail of the kings of England including Henry II. and a description of the battle fought near Alverton between the English barons and the Scots. This, which was one of the most brilliant and prosperous events of the reign of Stephen, Newburgh has so cursorily mentioned in book i. chap. 1. that he has left unnoticed the consecrated military ensign, to the influence of which the victory was chiefly attributed, and from which Ældred denominated the action the Battle of the Standard [x].

As Ældred died in 1166, Picard grants that the historian could not have presented to this prior more than the first book, and a few chapters of the second; and remarks that he prosecuted his plan conceiving himself to be bound by a promise made in the dedication [y]. Does it not however appear to be  
a strange

[x] X Script. c. 337—414.

[y] Nempe Gulielmum nostrum obtulisse tantum Ealredo primum hujus historię

a strange surmise that the dedication should have been penned whilst so large a part of the book was unwritten? The reverse is, I believe the general, the almost constant practice.

Ernaldus is the name given by Hearne to the prior to whom the book was dedicated; but I judge him to have had in view the person mentioned by Picard. At least he agrees with him as to the only portion of the chronicle that could have been offered, the prior he meant being dead before the history was completed [z].

Had Picard and Hearne perused the history with the attention requisite in editors, unless I am much mistaken, they would have discovered several passages in the first book, and in the chapters of the second to which they allude, that must have been compiled much later than they seem to have been aware. Instances shall be cited which will corroborate my opinion.

Chapter 22. book ii. is entituled; “De diutina vacatione ecclesiæ Lincolnienfis,” and the year noticed in the margin is 1167, i. e. the year after the death of Ældred. In the first sentence he mentions the death of bishop Robert in that year,

*torix librum et aliquot 2 lib. capita. Nec huic observationi prospicio quicquam obfatare. Nam quod quinque reliquerit multis annis excedentes obitum Ealredi, coegit promiffum, epiftola nuncupatoria, ceu fide publica fubnixum. Picard. Not. p. 602.*

[z] Ernaldus, fic enim legendum (non E. tantummodo ut in editionibus aliis) abbas Rievallis, qui ad opus aggrendum impulit, cuique proinde dicavit confecravique, licet librum primum, et aliquot libri fecundi capitula duntaxat eidem offerre permiffus fuerit, jam mortuo antequam ad umbilicum duce-retur totum opus, ut recte e Nicholao Rievallenfi obfervavit Picardus. Hearne Præfat. p. xiii.

and adds immediately, that the see of Lincoln remained vacant almost seventeen years [a]

Chapter 16 of the same book has for its subject the king's displeasure against Becket before the end of the year in which the council of Tours was held, i. e. in 1163. He, however, pronounces this circumstance to have been the disgraceful origin of the many enormous evils which were *known* [b] to have resulted from it. The conclusion therefore is, that this chapter could not have been written before the murder of Becket, Dec. 28, 1170.

Under that year, at chap. 25, the assassination of Becket is related; at ch. 9, he notices the death of Malcolm IV. king of Scotland, in 1159, and ch. 10. gives an account of the life and death of the hermit Godric of Finchale near Durham, with his customary vague words, "iisdem fere temporibus." Whereas the hermit must have outlived Becket, the sufferings of the prelate being, according to Hoveden [c], revealed on the very day he was murdered, to Godric at Finchale, though a place above 160 miles distant from Canterbury.

Wymund's un-episcopal conduct, and his being deprived of the bishopric of Man about the year 1151, are mentioned in B. i. c. xxiv. The deposed prelate, we are told, went afterwards to the monastery of Byland, where he peaceably resided very many years "pluribus annis" to the time of his death;

[a] Vacavit pastorali providentia eadem ecclesia per annos fere decem et septem; id est, ab anno ejusdem regis quarto decimo usque ad tricesimum.

[b] Ira regis excanduit, multorum et enormium malorum quæ secuta *noscentur* infame principium, p. 156. fervor regius accenderetur, ex quo tot mala postmodum pullulasse *noscentur*.

[c] Annales, p. 299.



an expression not suitable had he lived only fifteen years. And this objection will be found still more forcible when urged against the historian's account of William archbishop of York, in chap. xxvi. whose sudden death in June 1154, was commonly believed to have been effected by poison infused into the sacramental cup, which he drank whilst celebrating mass in his own cathedral. The truth of this story is disavowed by Newburgh, upon the evidence of a canon of York, who was in habits of intimacy with the archbishop, and in attendance upon him when this horrible deed was imagined to have been perpetrated. But the historian represents his informer, then a monk of Rieval, as being very ancient, sick, and drawing near to his end at the time of his making his solemn asseveration concerning the archbishop [*d*].

The last instance I shall produce, appears to me, if the passage is correct, to be not only a decisive anachronism, but it will, I think, nearly fix the age of Newburgh, when he compiled his history. It is from the 15th chapter of book i. "De origine Bellelandæ," in which he particularizes the different removals of the Cistercian monks belonging to that religious house, with their final settlement at New Byland abbey. He observes that they were at first in very straight circumstances, but that they abundantly prospered under the government of father

[*d*] Denique ergo processu temporis cum fama ista crebesceret, quendam virum magnum et *grandævum*, Rievallis monasterii monachum, jam valetudinarium et morti vicinum, qui eo tempore Eboracensis ecclesiæ canonicus, et memorato archiepiscopo familiaris extiterat, super hoc cum adjurationibus percunctandum putavi, qui constanter respondit, hoc esse mendacissimum conceptæ a quibusdam opinionis commentum.

Roger, a man in the highest repute for his integrity, who was then living well stricken in years, having nearly completed the fifty-seventh year of his administration. The historian immediately adds, that this monastery had its origin after the death of the venerable Thurstan, meaning the archbishop of that name [e]. But as he did not decease till 1140, this chapter could not have been written before 1197, when Newburgh must have been about threescore years old, he being by his own account born in the first year of Stephen's reign [f].

In order to appreciate the credibility of a contemporary historian, it is, in general, expedient to ascertain as far as may be practicable when the book was really compiled; and this precaution may be thought particularly requisite whilst examining the work of William of Newburgh. For he seems often to have acquiesced in the narrations of the day, and after an interval of many years to have trusted to his memory in the recital of them. The desultory manner in which he has ranged his materials affords a strong presumptive proof that he had not before him any connected chronicle of the times. This was one reason for my making so circumstantial an enquiry.

Another motive was, a wish to have clearly discovered who might be the abbat to whom the book was dedicated; it is evident that he was an encourager of men of learning, and it

[e] De rebus angustiis ad magnam jam amplitudinem pervenerunt sub patre Rogerio, mirandæ sinceritatis viro, qui adhuc superstes est, in senecta uberi, administrationis suæ annis circiter quinquaginta et septem expletis: fuit autem monasterii hujus initium post venerabilis Turstini decessum.

[f] Cujus anno primo ego Willelmus, fervorum Christi minimus, et in Adam primo ad mortem sum natus, et in secundo ad vitam renatus. Proem. ad fin.

is therefore a tribute of respect due to his memory, that his name should not be sunk in oblivion.

Much perplexity has arisen in similar cases from a practice that formerly prevailed of noticing persons by only the initial letters of their names. In some MSS. even these are omitted, and in others transcribers may have inadvertently taken one letter for another, or perhaps inserted letters without competent authority. Picard, in his notes, has cited a few verses by Nicholas, a monk of Rieval, who wrote early in the 13th century, in which the three first abbats of that house are marked, by what the editor significantly terms these solitary letters. By W. Willelmus was meant; by Æ. Ælredus, and by S. Sylvanus. Ældred, it is agreed, died in 1166, and was succeeded by Sylvanus, who presided over this monastery thirty three years [g]. There is then a coincidence as to time with the chronology of Newburgh's history, but if Sylvanus were the abbat we are in search of, there must be a literal error in the MSS. used by both Picard and Hearne, and for E. we must read S.

William of Newburgh derived that denomination from the monastery of Newburgh in Yorkshire, of which he was a member. *Parvus* is another of his appellations, but whether this were a surname or a nickname is somewhat dubious. By the name of Petyt he is classed in Bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*; and Bishop Nicolson says, that it was his true surname, from whence he sometimes styles himself *Petit*, or *Parvus*. Hearne allows that others styled him so; though he does not remember in what places it is that he styles himself thus [b]. It is, however, remarkable

[g] Litteræ capitales solitarie positæ sunt nomina prædictorum cœnobiarcharum. Ter denis, ternisq̄e simul S. præfuit annis, p. 602.

[b] Præfat. p. cxxi

that,

that, with allusion to himself, he twice uses the word *parvitas*, thereby insinuating how little qualified he was to discharge the office of an historiographer [*i*], or to hastily form a judgment of the actions of so great a man as archbishop Becket [*k*]. The term therefore which the monk made choice of from affectation, might not some of his adversaries apply to him in contempt! Many Cambro-Britons, it is imagined, would readily point a sarcasm of ridicule at the illiberal and acrimonious reviler of their favourite historian Jeffrey of Monmouth.

S. D.

[*i*] Viri venerabiles, quibus mos gerendus est, hoc ipsum, et meæ *parvitati* dignantur injungere, ut et ego, quia cum divitibus non possum, saltem cum paupercula vidua aliquid de tenuitate mea mittam in gazophylacium domini. Proem. p. 14.

[*k*] Nostræ enim *parvitati* nequaquam conceditur de tanti viri actibus temere judicare, lib. ii. c. 25. p. 185.



Fig. 6.

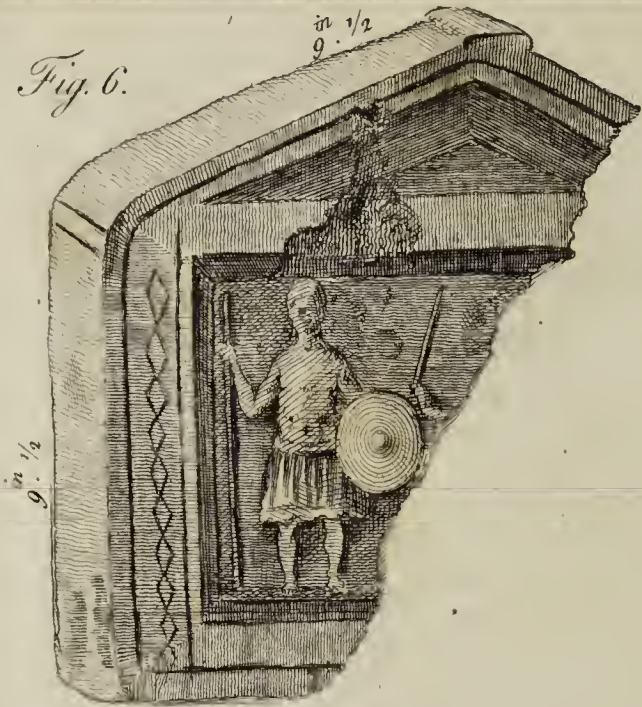


Fig. 4.

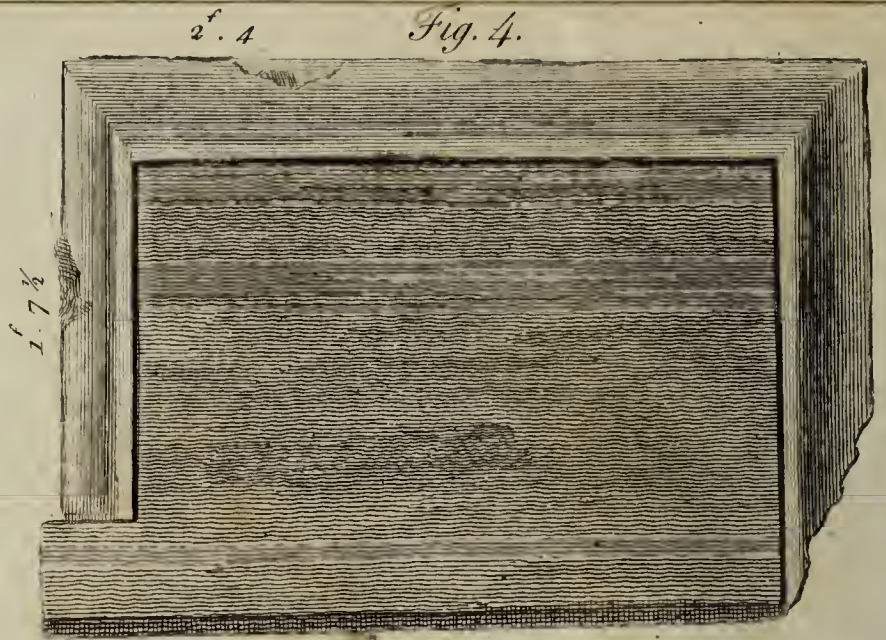


Fig. 2.

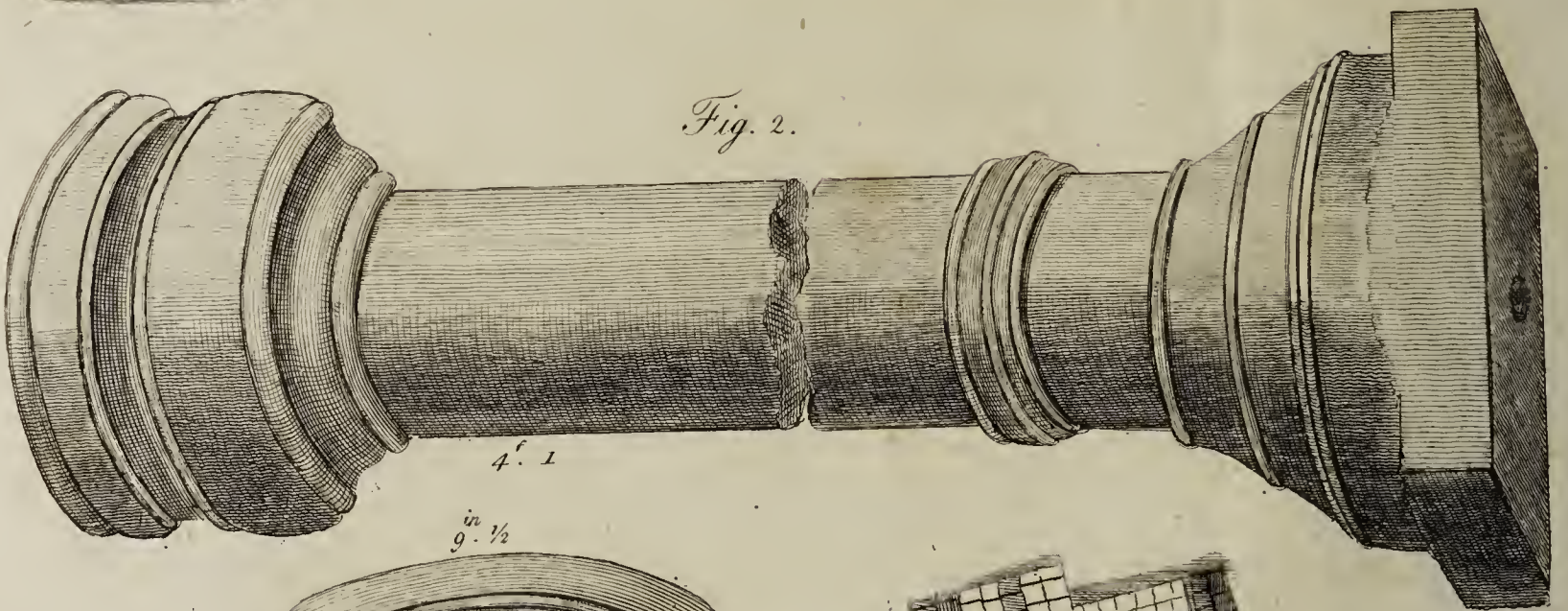


Fig. 3.

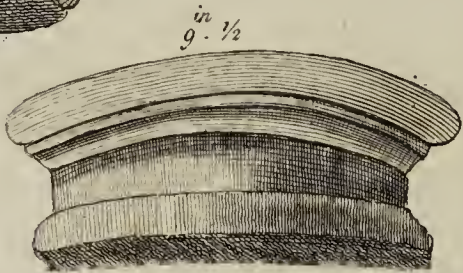


Fig. 5.

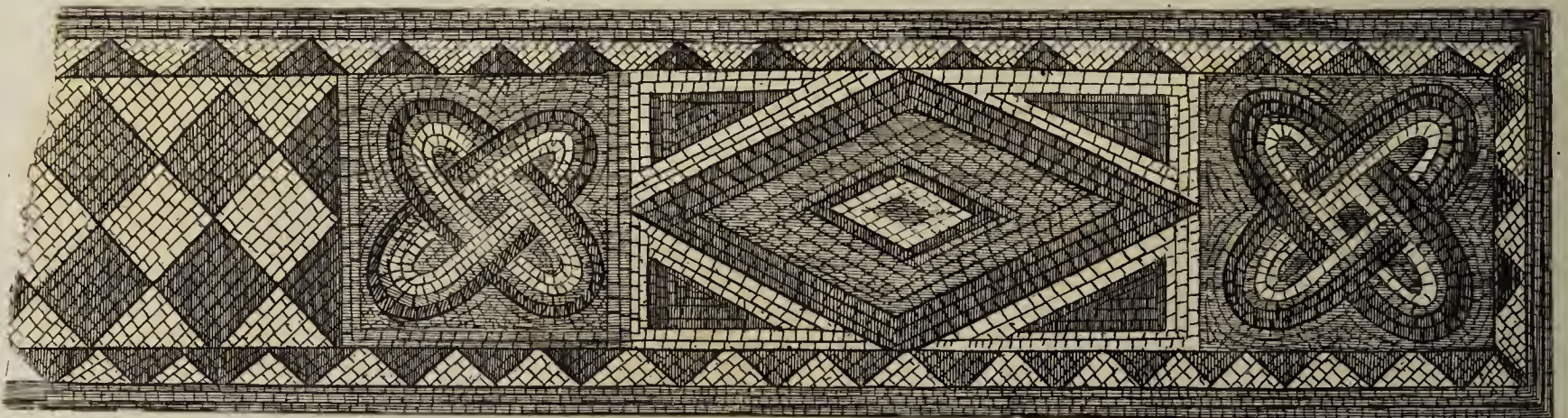
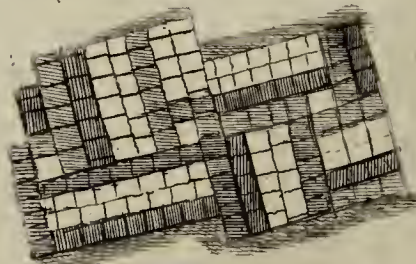


Fig. 1.

XXVIII. *An account of some Roman Antiquities discovered at Comb end farm, near Cirencester, Gloucestershire, by Samuel Lyfons, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read May 8, 1789.

**I**N the year 1779 some labourers digging for stone in a field called *Stockwoods*, at Comb end-farm, belonging to Samuel Bowyer, Esq. in the parish of *Colebourn* in *Gloucestershire*, discovered the remains of a very considerable building at a small depth below the surface of the earth, which on a further investigation appeared clearly, from the remains of tessellated pavements which were found in several places, to have been a Roman house. The floor of one room was preserved quite entire, the walls remaining in many places near three feet in height. Its dimensions were fifty-six feet in length and fourteen in breadth (see pl. XX. fig. 1.) The entrance to it was by a stone-step on the south side. Immediately above this pavement were found many of the slates with which the roof had been covered: they were of a rhomboidal form, and several of them had the nails with which they had been fastened remaining in them.

This

This room in its size and situation bears a near resemblance to the cryptoporticus described by Major Rooke in his account of the Roman villa discovered at Mansfield Woodhouse in Nottinghamshire (Vol. VIII. p. 365.), and was in all probability designed for the same purpose.

The above mentioned building was pleasantly situated on the side of a hill facing the south at the distance of about a mile from the great Roman road leading from Cirencester to Gloucester, seven miles from the former and about eleven from the latter; and must undoubtedly have been the villa of some Roman of considerable eminence.

About two feet above the level of the cryptoporticus before mentioned appeared the remains of another tessellated pavement of a red and white checquered figure, in a very indifferent state of preservation. No further discoveries have been since prosecuted on that spot; but having obtained leave of the proprietor for that purpose, I hope at some future time to be able to give a more satisfactory account of a subject which I flatter myself will not be thought unworthy of attention.

On the south side of the abovementioned building, and at a small distance from it, was a small coppice wood of about half an acre. This was grubbed up in December, 1787, for the purpose of digging stone for building, which seemed to lie there very near the surface. The labourers soon discovered this appearance to have arisen from the ruins of a very large building overgrown with the coppice, and having found stone ready hewn to their hands, they immediately pulled down all that remained of the walls, and piled up the materials in heaps, to the amount of at least two hundred cart-loads; so that as



no one was then present who could make any drawing or ground plan by the appearance in them exhibited, the only account that can now be given is such as could be collected from persons employed there at the time.

There were, they say, six rooms parallel to each other, running from North to South, nearly of the same size, which was a square of about twelve feet. On the West side were two rooms much larger than either of the other six, and at the opposite end an hypocaust of considerable dimensions, as is evident from the great quantity of square bricks and fragments of the flues of which it was built, and near these remains were found two columns, each of which was broken off in the middle. See a figure of one of them Pl. XX. fig. 2. These had probably been used in some part of the hypocaust; for as their height was only from four feet and one inch it is difficult to conceive to what other part of the building they could have belonged. There was also the fragment of a smaller column, (fig. 3.) and a flat stone 2 feet 4 inches in length, and 1 foot 7 inches and half in breadth, which has very much the appearance of a small hearth stone, (see fig. 4.) The walls remained in many places four feet in height, and were stuccoed on the inside. Two of the smaller rooms had tessellated floors, on one of which were many figures of birds and fishes. The only pavement preserved is shewn in the plate, fig. 5. The other floors were of stucco. In the corner of one of the rooms was a human skull; and a large quantity of fragments of deer horns were found on the outside of the building. Many fragments of glass were found amongst the ruins, which had evidently been used in the windows. It is probable that glass was at a very early period used by the Romans for this purpose; con-

considerable quantities of it were discovered in the ruins of Pompeii, as is mentioned by Sir William Hamilton in his account of the discoveries made there, *Archæol.* Vol. IV. p. 171. The only coins found in these ruins were of Constantine and Magnentius.

A fragment of a rude piece of sculpture in stone, representing the figure of a Roman soldier armed, with a shield and spear, in bas-relief, probably part of a sarcophagus (see the Plate, fig. 6.) was ploughed up in a field adjoining to those before mentioned, and in the same field was found a large stone, in which was fastened a strong iron staple of a door.

XXIX. *Memoir concerning the Roman Baths discovered, in the year 1788, at Wroxeter, the ancient Uriconium or Viroconium. In a letter from the Rev. Mr. Leighton of Shrewsbury to Mr. Gough, Director.*

Read May 7, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

*Shrewsbury, March 28, 1789.*

A severe and tedious fit of inflammatory rheumatism has hitherto prevented my acknowledgment of your last favour, and the completion of my promise respecting the communication of the discoveries of Roman antiquities made lately at Wroxeter. This communication I hope will not have been made too late for your design of presenting them to the Society of Antiquaries, before it shall rise for the ensuing season.

My first promise respecting this communication was made to you, and therefore is certainly sacred to you. I conceived the object might be thought worthy of Gov. Pownall's personal examination; and I have yet no doubt that it will prove so; especially since he means to solicit leave from Mr. Pulteney, (which will certainly not be refused) to open the ground further. I am much flattered by the Governor's polite acceptance of my invitation, and wish to express to him my sense of the honour he intends me, if you will have the goodness to favour

me with his address. Though *Roman* antiquities do not abound *very* near this spot, yet I hope we may find objects to amuse and engage a person of such extensive curiosity and information for some days.

Permit me to add that this county has been hitherto too superficially considered by yourself as an antiquary; and that as a Cicerone and as a *host*, I shall think myself always particularly happy in any opportunity of easing your conscience from this sin of omission.

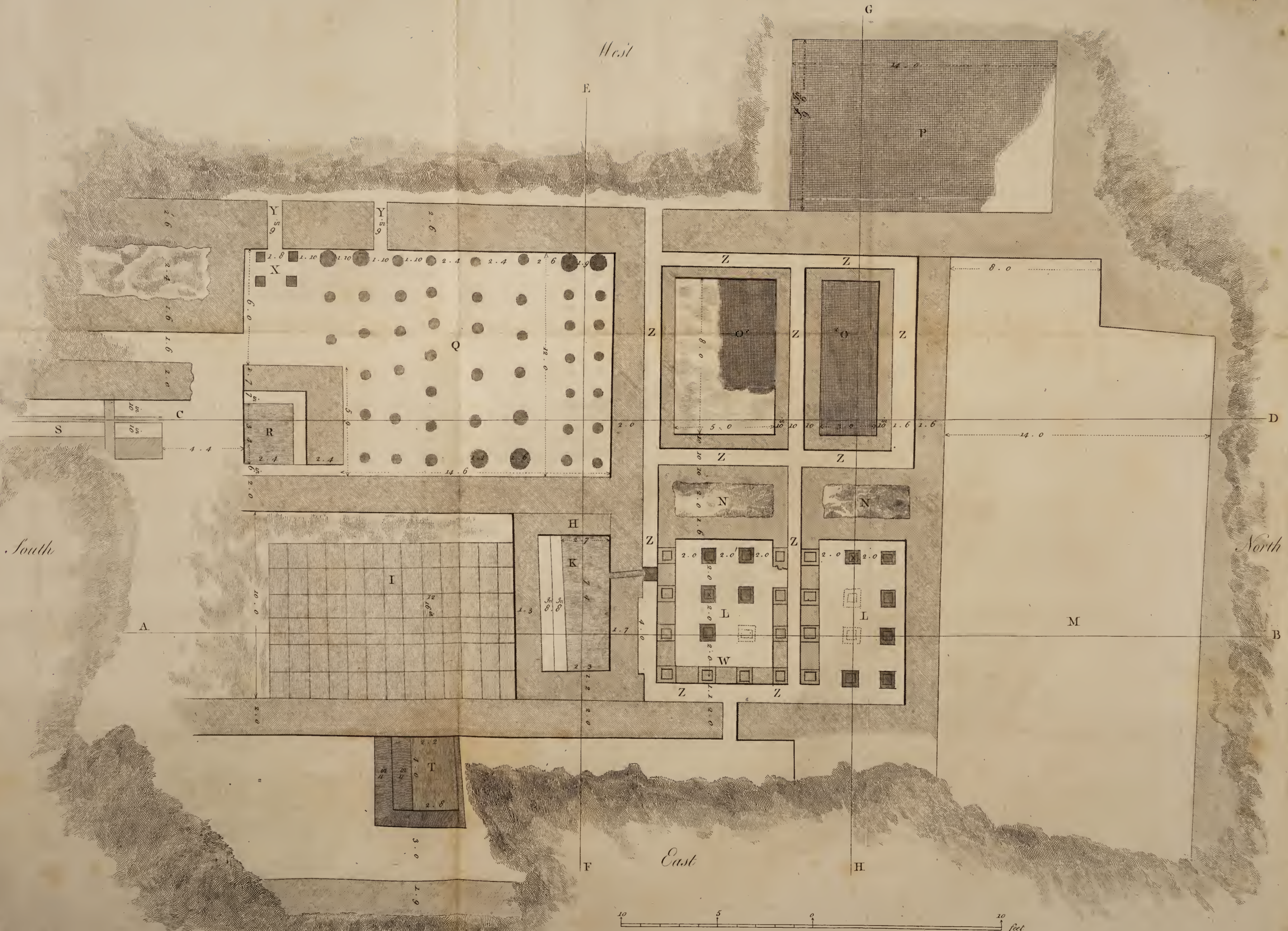
I am, Dear Sir,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

FRANCIS LEIGHTON.

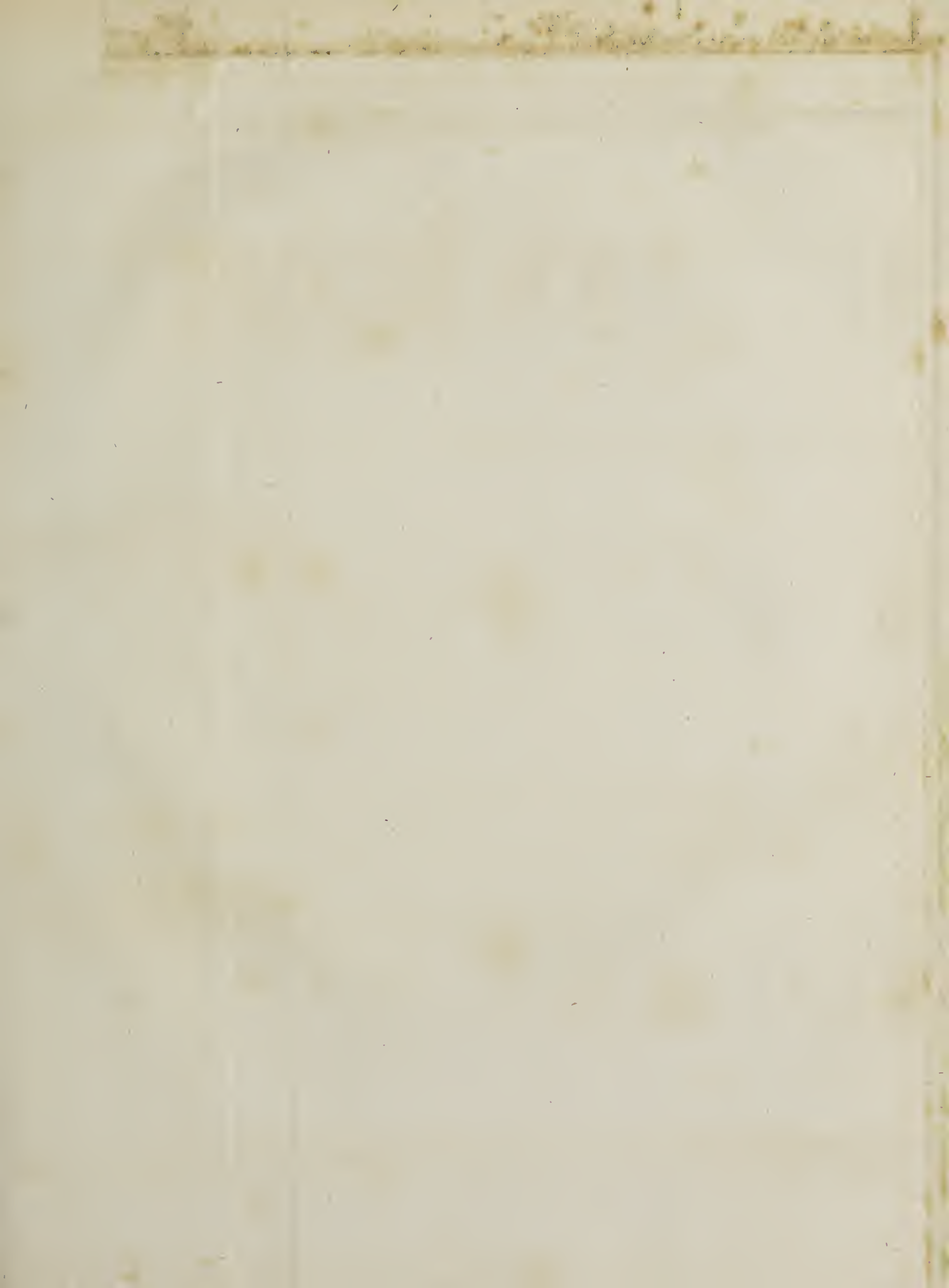
In the month of June, 1788, one Clayton a farmer, at Wroxeter having occasion for some stone to rebuild a smith's shop lately burnt down, and knowing by the dryness of the ground that there were ruins at no great depth beneath the surface of a field near his house, began to dig, and soon came to the floor marked I. and the small bath K, in the annexed plan [a]. Application was made to William Pulteney, Esq. the proprietor of the soil, for leave to open the ground farther, which was readily granted. Coins both of the upper and lower empire, bones of animals (some of which were burnt), fragments of earthen vessels of various sizes, shapes, and manufacturers, some of them black, and resembling Mr. Wedgwood's imitation of the Etruscan vase, and (as Mr. Telford the architect informed me) *pieces of glass* were found in various places; and the whole

[a] Pl. XXI.

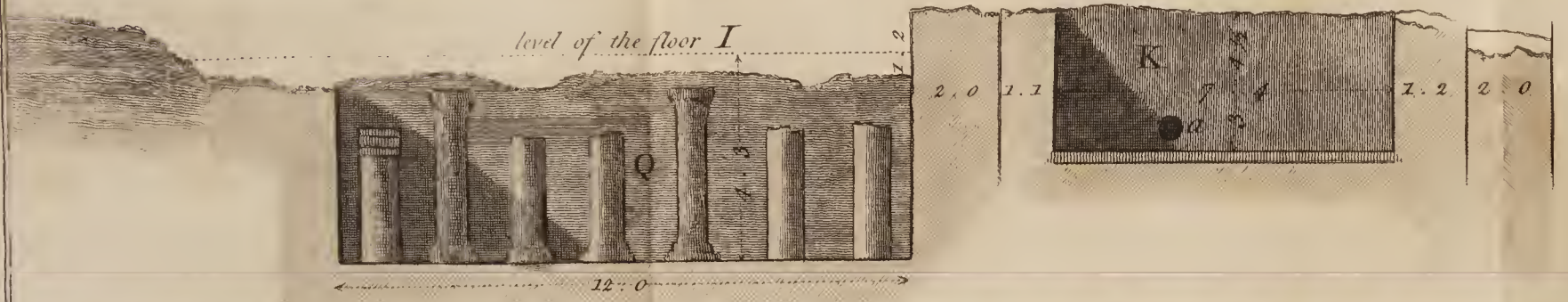


Plan of the Roman Baths at Wroxeter.

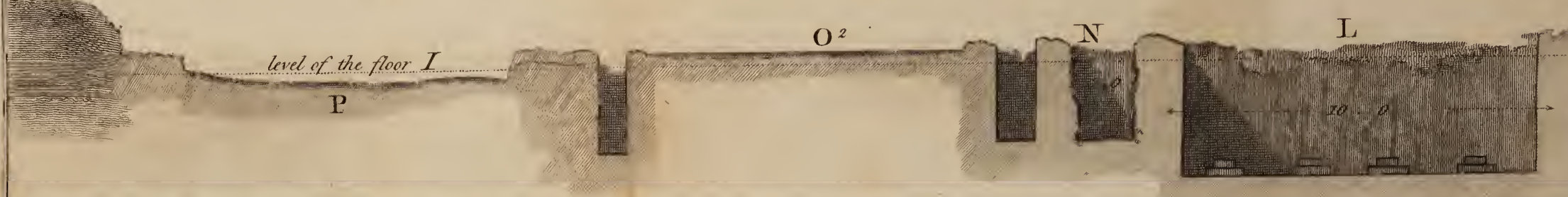




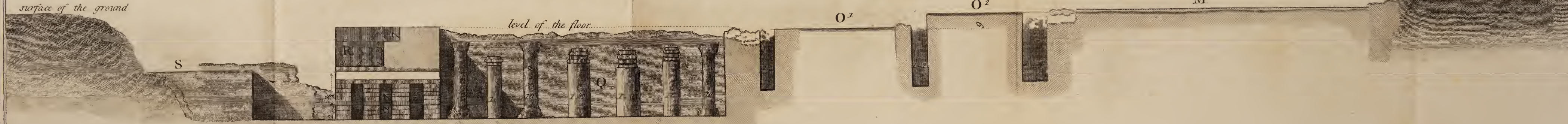
Section at the line E.F. on the Plan.



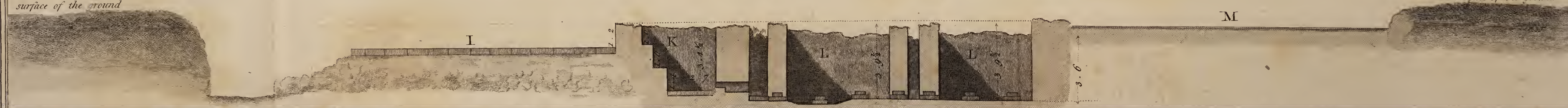
Section at the line G.H. on the Plan.



Section at the line C.D. on the Plan.



Section at the line A.B. on the Plan.



Sections of the Roman Baths at Worcester.

Welford del.

Welford sc.



ground was full of charred substances in different strata, with layers of earth between them, which seems to indicate that the place has suffered *more than one* conflagration. I procured a ground plan and sections of the whole building, as far as it is discovered, from Mr. Telford a very able architect, who at present superintends several public and private works in this town. To these I shall add nothing more than explanations of the letters of reference in the plan, as I conceive that a general idea of the uses of the different apartments may be formed by comparing Mr. Telford's with the plate of the baths at Baden Weiler, and the learned and admirable explanation of it in the Appendix to Governor Pownal's Notices, &c. concerning the Roman Province in Gaul.

The admeasurement and levels having been taken by myself, I can answer for their truth and accuracy; my description of the ruins I hope will be found intelligible.

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The sections Pl. XXII. are taken where the red lines are drawn plan: viz. two from South to North, AB, CD, and two from West to East, EF, GH.

Where there is only one denomination of figures in the plan or section, it means *inches*: where there are two, they mean English *feet* and *inches*.

I. The floor first discovered. It is paved with tiles sixteen inches long, twelve inches wide, and half an inch thick. The tiles lie on a bed of mortar one foot thick, under which are rubble stones to a considerable depth.

K. A bath

K. A bath capable of holding four persons, supposing them to sit on the steps or seats along the South side. Through the North side is a hole near the bottom marked  $\text{E}$  in the section, at the distance of two feet six inches from the West end. The bottom is paved with tiles, and the sides and seats plastered with mortar, consisting of three layers or coats: the first, or that next the stones is formed of lime, and bruised or pounded brick without sand: the third of the same, but a greater proportion of lime, and a little sand: this is very smooth on the surface and very hard.

LL. Seem to have been Hypocausta, having the foundations of pillars as marked in the plan. Each lower tile is one foot square; and upon them are others eight inches square: they stand upon a floor of mortar, which, in some places is depressed, (see the section on the line AB.) as if forced down by some great weight. The pillars stand at two feet distance from each other, from center to center; and are disposed in the same regular manner under the walls of these apartments. The tiles expressed in the plan by dotted lines were not in their places: but, as they were found thrown in other parts of the same Hypocausta, it is presumed from the regularity of the rest, that they originally stood where they are drawn.

About W immediately under the foundation of the wall were found several pieces of painted stucco, some of which were in stripes of crimson on a yellow ground, some in a decussated checquer of the same colours, others plain red, and others plain blue. There was found in this place a tile two feet square, pierced with many holes, which holes were wide at the lower side, and ended almost in a point at the upper side.

M. is a large floor formed of a thin layer of mortar, upon a thick one of pounded bricks.

NN. appear like single baths. The only objection to this sup-  
I
position

position is, that the walls which form them are very irregular within.

O 1. O 2. are tessellated floors made of pieces of brick one inch and a quarter square, not disposed in any fancied form, but in a simple chequer: the tessellæ are all red. O 1. is on a level with the paved floor I. O 2. is nine inches above that level.

P. A large tessellated floor made of tessellæ of the same size and colour, and disposed in the same manner as those of O 1, O 2. This is on the Western side of the wall which bounds the other apartments. It is on the same level with the floor I, but much crushed down.

Q. A large Hypocaustum. Its floor is of mortar upon rubble stones, very hard, and lying four feet three inches below the level of I. The pillars are not uniform in their shape, size, or disposition: some rows consisted of six, some of seven pillars: some pillars were much shorter than others, and the deficiency was made up by tiles or stones laid upon them: some were apparently the fragments of large columns of a kind of granite, one foot six inches, and one foot two inches in diameter: others were of a red free stone ten inches in diameter: the four small square pillars at X were formed of tiles laid one upon another; in the openings y y ashes were found.

R. A small bath in one corner of the Hypocaustum, with one seat or step on two of its sides: the whole of the inside is well plastered with the same sort of mortar as the bath K. This bath stands upon pillars of tiles one foot square: the intervals between them are from four to seven inches wide, and one foot seven inches high. These pillars stand on the level of the floor of the Hypocaustum. From this bath in the direction R S there was found a piece of leaden pipe, not soldered, but hammered together, and the seam or puncture secured by a kind of mortar: and there appears a kind of channel or groove cut in large stones,

stones, which falls three inches in twelve feet. But for this circumstance of the pipe I should conjecture R to have been a steam or vapour bath, rather than a water bath; because the Eastern side has no wall; but flues or tunnels were found sticking in a perpendicular position, which exactly filled the interval marked || between the bath R and the wall dividing the apartments I and Q. These flues were of tile, with lateral apertures. I forbear to describe them because it is already done in T. Lyfter's account of the Hypocaustum formerly found at Wroxeter, in the Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup> 306, page 2226, of which Hypocaustum there is a good small model in wood in the library of the schools in this town. Fragments of such flues were found in various parts of the ruin. The bath R seems to have wanted the Southern as well as the Eastern wall; and both those sides might probably be occupied by flues.

T. is a place 4 feet deep below the level of the floor I. It has a paved bottom; and is formed by large granite stones on the southern and eastern sides, on the north by a large thin red stone set on edge. To the east of this place, there appears to be another wall running north and south.

Z Z Z. are intervals between the walls, of the different breadths marked in the plan: intended probably for the purpose of conveying heat by flues to the different apartments; and some possibly for carrying off the water.

The river Severn lies to the west of these ruins, about a quarter of a mile distant. The ground declines from the ruins toward the south. The nearest spring is, I understand, 200 or 300 yards to the north-east, in a situation something higher than these baths.

There is no hot or warm spring in the neighbourhood.

XXX. *Remarks on the title of Thane and Abthane.*  
 By Robert Riddel, of Glen Riddel, Esq. In a letter  
 to Mr. Gough.

Read January 8, 1789.

S I R,

*Friars carse, near Dumfries.*

**A** GREENABLE to my promise I send you some remarks on the title of Thane in Scotland, and the authority that was annexed to that most antient and honourable office by our Kings and the Estates, in the earlier ages of the Scottish monarchy. A Thane (which signifies a servant) held under the king a jurisdiction over a district called a Thanedom, and afterwards a Sherifffdom or County. His office was to give judgement in all civil and criminal cases within his Thanedom. Upon perusing the claims of hereditary jurisdiction in Scotland, when they were annexed to the crown in 1748, I find that in the year 1405 a receipt was granted by Robert duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, for infesting Donald, thane of Calder, in his thanedom, as heir at law to Andrew, thane of Calder, his father, to whom he had previously been served heir, and returned in the heritable offices of Shireef (or Thane) of Nairn, and Constable of the castle of Nairn. He was accordingly seased of his lands and thanedom; and the seafine is produced as a voucher in the year 1748, to prove the fact. By this it appears that the

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thanes

thanes of Calder exercised a jurisdiction over the thanedom, and afterwards sheriffdom of Nairn. The title of earl (an English dignity derived from the Saxon word *Eorlas*, signifying honour, was first introduced into Scotland by Malcolm Canmore, and gained ground to the prejudice of the more ancient title of Thane. The title of earl was often granted without any jurisdiction annexed to it; but the dignity of Thane, never. And this perhaps was the chief reason for its total disuse in the year 1476, when William thane of Calder had his thanedom erected into a free barony and regality. He was the last Thane in Scotland; for the crown, to add to its influence, then abolished this dignity.

As to the very ancient title of *Abthane*, I am more at a loss to point out the nature and extent of its jurisdiction. I find Crinan, Abthane of Dull and the Western Isles, (who married Beatrix the eldest daughter of Malcolm the Second, and was father to Duncan the First king of Scotland) was considered as the most powerful man in the kingdom. It is generally thought that he exercised the office of chief justiciar over the kingdom; perhaps in a similar manner as it was exercised by the family of Argyle so late as the year 1628, when the lord born heritable justiciar of all Scotland did resign that high office to king Charles I. In addition to the office of chief justiciar: Crinan (as it was thought) was the king's steward over the crown lands in the Western Isles, as well as a large district on the main land of Scotland, called Dull. What was the extent of the crown's patrimony called Dull, I do not know; but in the claim of Sir Robert Menzies for the lordship of Apin O Dull, in 1748, the lord advocate, in his reply, says, that the lordship of Apin  
O Dull

O Dull was antiently a part of the patrimony of the crown; and it is natural to suppose that it was part of Crinan's Abthanedom.

The lordship of Apin O Dull, as claimed by Sir Robert Menzies, comprehended the lands situated in the parishes of Weem, and Dull, and Logierant.

Crinan was the last Abthane of Scotland; for his son, Duncan the First, appointed Bancho thane of Lochaber, as his *dapifer* or *senescallus*. And Malcolm Canmore appointed Walter to the office of *dapifer domini regis*, which became hereditary in his family until they succeeded to the throne in the person of Robert the Second.

XXXI. *Observations on the Derivation of the English Language. In a Letter from the Rev. William Drake, A. M. F. S. A. to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary.*

Read June 11 and 18, 1789.

REV. SIR,

**Y**OU may remember I sent you formerly some observations upon the English language, endeavouring to prove it originally Gothic [a]. It must indeed be allowed that many Celtic terms are visible in it; for which many causes may be assigned; but that the chief materials of which our language is constituted are purely Teutonic no one that attentively considers it can, I think, possibly deny. The Gothic, of which we have happily recovered such valuable remains, is the parent, from whence a very numerous progeny are descended. The learned Grævius, in his life of Junius, has traced the pedigree with great accuracy, which, if you give me leave, I will insert in his own words: “His omnibus linguis imbibendis cum satis diu Junius infudasset, vidit, quod et privatim apud omnes, quibuscum agebat de hac doctrina, tum publice testatus est, Gothicam esse matrem omnium cæterarum Teutonicarum linguarum, ex qua profluxerit vetus Cimbrica,

[a] See Vol. V. p. 379.



“ monumentis Runarum posteris tradita, necnon Suecica, Dani-  
“ ca, Norwegica, Islandica, quibus illius plagæ homines isto  
“ tempore suas animi cogitationes explicant. Ex Anglo-Saxoni-  
“ ca, quæ et ipsa est propago Gothicæ, manavit Anglica, Sco-  
“ tica, Belgica, Frisica vetus. Ex Gothica & Saxonica orta est  
“ Francica, quæ Germanicæ superioris parens est.”—From this  
quotation you may observe, Sir, that from the Gothic are de-  
rived all the Northern languages, excepting that spoken by the  
Sarmatians, who, from the earliest time, had one peculiar to  
themselves: and you may also observe, that the Gothic lan-  
guage has no connection with those people, who being the  
remains of the antient Britons, adopted the Celtic tongue, as  
the Welsh, the Irish, some part of the Scots, the Cornish, and  
Armoricans. Having premised thus much by way of intro-  
duction, I shall proceed, as I did before, to confront a chapter  
of the Gothic Gospel with the same chapter of our English  
translation; a mode, I apprehend, the most effectual to discover  
what degree of affinity these two languages bear to each other.  
But before I begin, I must apprize you, that in the examina-  
tion of these words I shall make some few digressions from my  
principal subject, for which I shall hope for your indulgence;  
as, I believe, you will agree with me, that mere dictionary  
making, without some other intervening matter to amuse, is as  
disagreeable to the writer, as it is unpleasing to the reader.

I shall take the fourth chapter of St. Mark for my present  
purpose.

*Afra.* I need not inform you that from hence our *after* is  
derived.

*Jaisus.* Jesus.

*Dugann*, Began. The deduction of the English verb to *begin* from the Gothic *dugann* is very obvious. *Ginnan* is the radix to which the preposition *du* is affixed; but it seems to be merely *præpositio otiosa*, conveying with it no additional signification. The Saxons adopted the same verb, and prefixed different particles to it, without any alteration of sense. *Angynnan*, *agynnan*, *ongynnan*, *beginnan*, are synonymous, denoting the same thing. Upon this principle our earliest writers made use of the simple verb, without any additional prefixure. Thus in one of the oldest romances we have in English, called *Alexander*, it is so expressed :

“ He takes Bultiphal by the side,  
So as a swallow he gynneth forth glide.”

So in *Pierce Plowman's dream* :

“ And that is the great God that ginning had never.”

Our Chaucer also :

“ Than gan our hoste to laughen wonder loude.”

And this mode of expression descended down to the times of Spenser :

“ He coming near gan gently her salute.”

Nor was it quite obsolete when Shakspeare wrote; who uses it with inexpressible beauty :

“ The glow-worm shews the matin to be near,  
And gins to pale his uneffectual fire.”

I am

I am satisfied Sir Thomas Hanmer was unacquainted with the origin and nature of this word, as he has here put an apostrophe before *gins*; erroneously supposing it to be a contraction of the two syllables for the sake of the metre.

*Laisgan*, To teach. After premising that the Gothic *G* is frequently liquidated into the *Y*, it will be no difficult matter to discover that this verb, *Laisgan*, and the substantive *Laisana*, in the next verse, are the undoubted parents of the English *to lesson*, and a *lesson*. I must own a zeal for the antiquity of our language makes me observe, with some sort of indignation, our great philologer Johnson deriving our *lesson* from the French *leçon*. This was piddling upon the surface, when he should have dug deep for the true etymon; for words like truth require much opening to come at their original. An English-dictionary, indeed, which is not supported upon a Gothic foundation as to its derivations, is—"monstrum horrendum cuius lumen ademptum."

*At Marein, at the sea.* The word *Marein*, though apparently Latin, is derived from a much higher source, to which all our Western languages owe their birth. It is purely Celtic, as *Mor* in Welsh, *Miur* in Irish, and *Moir* in Erse, signify the sea at this very day. It is for this reason that the people inhabiting that part of the coasts of France called Britanny were, in Cæsar's time, named *Morini* and *Armorica*, and by Strabo *Ἐπωκεανῖται*, a word expressive of the same meaning. From the Gothic *Marein* however the Saxons took their *Meare*, and we our *Meer*, which implies a large collection of water. Gawen Douglass, who lived in the fifteenth century, calls  
7 the

the Porcus Marinus, which was the occasion of Hyppolitus's death in Virgil, a mere swine :

“ As to be harlet with horse that caught effray,  
And skeichit at ane mere swyne by the way.”

Hence also our *Meermaid*.

You will give me leave here, Sir, to suggest a reason why so many Celtic words shew themselves in the Gothic, and from thence have been conveyed to the English.

It is universally acknowledged that the Celtic was the original language of those people who emigrated immediately after the dispersion to the West; consequently all the European tongues must have been first formed from that general matrix. Hence the remains of the Celtic are not only visible in the Gothic, Greek, and Latin, but every Teutonic nation, and even the French, Italians, and Spaniards, speak in some degree the language of their Celtic ancestors. These Celts, we are informed by Cæsar, were the same people as the Gauls: “ Qui  
“ ipforum linguâ Celtæ nostrâ Galli appellantur.” And the same elegant writer lays it down as an indisputable historic fact, that many of the Germanic nations, who certainly were a Teutonic people, became colonies of the Gauls, passing over the Rhine at different times to subjugate that people, and take possession of their territories. On the other hand we are told, that some of the Gallic tribes forced their way into Germany, and there established themselves. The Tectosages, a people of Gallia Narbonensis, possessed themselves of the most fertile regions of Germany. The Boii and Helvetii, sprung from the same Gaulish stock, made very considerable acquisitions near the

Her-

Hercynian forest. To this we may add, from Livy, that the Bituriges and Semnones, Celtic nations, many years before the time of Cæsar, established themselves under the conduct of Segovesus, in Germany. This, I apprehend, will sufficiently account for the dispersion of words derived from both languages, and inform us, why Celtic derivations may be found among Gothic or Teutonic nations and Teutonic names, discovered among the different branches of the Celts. But besides this reason which I have here brought for the intermixture of Celtic with the English, the ingenious Mr. Whitaker has given us another, expressed in his usual animated and decisive style. He affirms, in opposition to the generality of our historians, that the Britons were not exterminated at the Saxon invasion; but that they remained under the dominion of their conquerors, mingled with them in their towns, and incorporated with them in the country. From whence he naturally infers, that a large colony of Celtic words were introduced into the Saxon language. If these premises of Mr. Whitaker can be proved, though the voice of history declares the contrary, and a very intelligent writer expressly asserts, that the Britons were so intirely extirpated, that scarce a single word of the language was admitted by the Saxons; the consequence which that gentleman would draw from them must unavoidably follow. But to whatever extent this argument may be urged, it can only prove that a few Celtic words do now and then make their appearance in the English language; and I shall not scruple to assert, that neither this or any other argument can be adduced, that may shew that there is the least radical or essential affinity between

the two languages ; or that any branch of the Celtic contains the most distant resemblance, in idiom, structure, genius, or any other criterion that language may be tried by, to the present English. But after all, the Goths might have picked up this word *Marein* from the Romans, as they resided at that time in Thrace and Mæsia, of which place Ulphilas, the translator of the Gospel, was bishop. It is certain Mæsia continued for a considerable time a Roman province, and consequently the language of Rome must have prevailed in some degree there, as it did in all the other provinces ; and this will seem the more probable, if we consider that three legions, which must have amounted at the least to twenty thousand men, were stationed in that country for some centuries. But to put an end to this tedious digression, I must tell you, we are not confined to this *Marein* ; the Goths have another term to express the same idea, *Saiwa*, from which the Saxon *Sæ*, and our *Sea*, are without the least dispute derived. Is it not curious then to observe, how congenial these two languages are, notwithstanding the variations of inflections, orthography, and other particulars, which must naturally happen to two tongues that have been so long separated ? *Is silba*, his self, which, by the bye, is better English than *himself*, when used for the nominative case ; *was standands*, was standing ; *nequa saiwa Gainefaraitb*, near the sea Genesereth. *manegeins filu*, a great multitude—From this substantive *manegeins*, and the adjective *manag*, which we find in the next verse, descends our *many* ; recollecting only what I have hinted before, that the Gothic *g* is frequently softened into the *y*. This word uniformly makes its appearance in every  
Teutonic.

Teutonic language. The Scotch writers call a multitude a *menzie*; and our English poets make use of *menie* when they would express any large retinue or company attendant upon great men. Thus in the old Chevy Chace, written not later than Henry the Sixth's time:

“Then the Perfe out of Bamborowe cam,  
With him a mighty meany.”

*Filu* is an adjective expressing number. The Saxons call it *Feala*, and most of the Northern languages have inherited it. The Germans, who, it must be acknowledged, are much nearer the Gothic than we are, say *Viel*. The labial letters are indeed transferrable in most tongues. Thus the family of *Fane* and *Vane* with us are certainly the same, acknowledging the same ancestors, and bearing the same arms; and in the Armulum, a piece placed by Dr. Hickes amongst the first writers after the Conquest, *Fers* is wrote for *Verse*:

“Min Ferse to fillen,” *i. e.* To fill my verse.

This word *Filu* is not intelligible to us at present; but in old language it frequently occurs. In the Romance of Alexander, which I have before mentioned, composed in the reign of Edward the Second, it appears:

“In the land also I find of Inde  
Bene cities five thousand;  
Withouten idles and castelis  
And boroughtowns swith felès.”—*i. e.* very many.

In Pierce Plowman's Crede, a work of the fourteenth century, it also makes its appearance :

“ Fermerye and fraitur with fele mo houfes.”  
meaning, many more houfes.

Gawen Dowglas likewise makes frequent use of *Feil* for many or several. The prevalency of this word seems to have been in a great degree lessened before the time of Chaucer, though we now and then meet with it in that poet :

“ For rude was the cloth, and more of age  
By daies fele than at hire marriage.”

by many days.

The French have retained this word in their substantive *Foule*, a multitude or crowd.

Our great antiquary Leland, if I remember right, derives the name of the sea-port, *Falemouth*, or *Falmouth*, from the many mouths or channels through which the sea runs into the harbour.—You will perhaps more readily acquiesce in this opinion, when I inform you, that Robert of Gloucester, one of our earliest writers of English, uses this adjective in the very same form :

“ How might such stones so great and so fale  
Be ybrought of so fer land ?”

The meaning of which, is, how might so great and so many stones be brought from so distant a country. Upon the whole you will conclude with me, that whatever vowel is made use of in the orthography of this word, whether the *i*, the *e*, or



the *a*, our Gothic *filu* took its place in the English language for many ages, though at present no vestige of it remains.

*Lefun sik*, gathered themselves.—This is not familiar to an English ear. The Saxons say upon this occasion *gaderod was*, which being Teutonic equally supports my hypothesis. However some glimpses even of the Gothic are discernable among us. *Lesan*, *colligere*, certainly gave birth to *to lease*, which according to Dryden signifies to glean or gather what the harvest-men leave. We have also in Shakspeare *to leash*, importing to bind or tie any thing together. Hence also the substantive, a leash, a band. In the funeral games of Virgil, the string that tied the pidgeon to the mast, at which the archers were to direct their arrows, is called by Gawen Dowglas the *lesche*;

“ He that the lesche in funder drave.”

All which certainly convey the idea of gathering or collecting together.

*Du imma*, to him. Those who are conversant with the Teutonic languages will know how frequent the *D* and *T* are changed for each other in every branch of them. The close affinity between the Gothic and the English will by that means appear here very visible,

*Sva, Sve, leithan in skip*. So that he went into a ship.

The first word is our *so*. In regard to the other *sve*, I must observe, though it is here made use of, the Goths had their *thata* answering to the English *that*, in all its senses. As to *leithan*, to go, though we may see a little of it in the Saxon, we have not the least glimpse of it with us. However, in support of my design,

design, I must take notice, that there are several Gothic verbs synonymous with this, that have descended to us in their native purity. *Faran, ire*, every where occurs in our early writers: thus in an ancient pastoral in bishop Percy's collection,

“Some other man leguile  
For I will hameward fara.”

Our Chaucer also,

“And in his fotthward is he fare  
In hope forto be lessed of his care.”

So G. Dowglas,

“Than speedily with haist and besy fare  
The labourers.”

The phrases that are made from this verb *faren*, as *wither do you fare*, *how fares it with you*, and several others of the same nature, are at this day very universally understood. Those small terrestrial deities, which children hear so much of, are very ingeniously derived from this word by the laborious Skinner. “M. Casaubonus,” says he, “nostrum *Fairies* deflectit a Græco γῆρες Fauni, nondum tamen mihi satisfactum est; mallet igitur deducere a Saxonico, potius Gothico, *faren*, *ire*, proficisci, peregrinari, quia scilicet hi Dæmones huc illuc noctu vagari & choreas ducere vulgo creduntur.” Another Gothic verb synonymous with *leithan*, signifying *to go*, is *gangan*. To *gang* uniformly runs through all the old English and Scotch poets, and is even now familiar to every ear conversant in the Northern dialect, and intelligible to the most refined.

*In skip.* I need not tell you from hence is our *ship*. I find in the Norwegian language, which is the most immediate descendant of the Gothic, the original *k* retained. Torfæus, an Islandic historian, informs us that a Norwegian prince called *Haco*, intending an invasion of some part of Scotland, landed a numerous body of forces in the bay of Skipford, which words he interprets the bay of ships. In a fragment of Scandinavian history lately published, we meet with this truly Gothic expression, *Fela skipa*, many ships. The Saxons, who took this word from the Goths, and fixed it in our dialect, wrote it with a *c* instead of a *k*, and pronounced it probably as we do. This circumstance relating to these two languages is explained by Junius: “ Omnes voces quas Anglo-Saxones passim cum *C* scribunt Gothici semper scribunt per *K*. Ita *Kaisar* Codici Argentineo est *Cæsar*. Gothicum *Kinn*, mentum, est Saxonicum *Cinn* ;” hence our *Chin*.

*Sitan in Marein* ; sat at the sea. To *sitt* and *sitan*, allowing for the Gothic termination of the infinitive mood, are exactly the same.

*Alla sw Menagei*, all the many or the multitude. This adjective, *alls*, *all*, has regularly descended to all the Northern nations. If we are to subscribe to the opinion of Junius, who judges “ Gothicam linguam ab eadem origine cum Græca profluxisse,” there can be little difference between the *alls* and the Greek *ὄλος*.

*Was withra merein*, was by the sea. The three singular persons of the Gothic auxiliary verb in the imperfect tense are, *Ik was*, *thu wast*, *is was*. A resemblance of words does not so much evidence the relationship of languages, though it certainly

tainly affords a very strong argument in proof of it, as the sameness of the idioms observable in them. Of those idioms auxiliary verbs stand in the first rank; if therefore the English coincides in this particular with the Gothic the descent of the first from the last is strikingly announced. Now the affinity of the two tongues in regard to this circumstance is, as you may perceive, so manifest, that we cannot possibly doubt from what source our language was drawn.

*Anna Statha*, on the land, as in our translation; but *statha* more immediately denotes the banks or shore of the "sea or a river." That is also the Saxon signification. Johnson makes a very judicious remark in regard to this word. *Stead*, says he, being in the name of a place that is distant from any river comes from the Saxon *Sted*, a place; but if it be upon a river or harbour, it is to be derived from *Stetbe* (*Statbe* he should have said, for there is no such Saxon word in that sense as *Stetbe*), a shore or station for ships. But I am afraid, when this author made that observation, he was not apprised, that both the Saxon *Sted* and *Statbe* are derived, the former from the Gothic *Stads*, *locus*, and the latter from the Gothic *Statb*, *ripa*. Whether this *Statbe* is used without a compound in our language, I confess I do not at present recollect. No Dictionary takes notice of it; yet I am inclined to think it must somewhere or other; for it is certain that a street that is carried along the banks of the river Ouse at York has been always, and is now called the *Stayth*.

But I perceive that this paper will swell into an unreasonable bulk, if I proceed with this regularity; I shall therefore quit this method, and only take notice of some few expressions or words that particularly strike me. However, I will venture

to assure you, if I was to go on verse by verse through this whole chapter, which is a very long one, I should not meet with three words that were not the fathers of some English progeny.

In the parable of the sower; *sa saians*, the sower, or more literally he sowing; *urran*, went out; *du saian*, to sow; *fraia*, the seed.

In *saians* we find the Gothic termination of the participle present; the Saxons adopted it, and we for many ages retained it, though now we have quite laid it aside, taking *ing* instead of it, as *loving*, not *lovande*. In very old poetry this Gothic termination universally prevails:

“ Turnand faules into blifs,”  
 “ Wisdom fervand to little new,  
 “ Hys moder stant him bi  
 Wepand.”

And in a thousand other instances.

In Chaucer's time the termination *ing* succeeded to *ande*, though that poet frequently uses the latter, and even in Spencer we find *glitterande* for *glittering*. Dowglas, who wrote a century later than Chaucer, invariably adheres to the old participle: thus we have *byrnande*, *tremblande*, *twynclande*, and a thousand others.

In *du saian* to sow, we may observe the progress of the infinitive mood through the Gothic and Saxon to the English. That mood in these two ancient languages terminated in their purest times in *an*, as *Saian* Gothic and *Saian* Saxon *to sowe*. But when the Normans had corrupted the Saxon tongue with a

foreign mixture, that infinitive ended in *en*, as *saine*, *loven*; and after some time it intirely dropt the *n* as *to sorwe*, to love, which alteration remains to this day. I will give you authority for what I advance as to the Gothic termination. The Codex Argenteus, which I have now before me, never deviates from it. And that the Saxons adopted the same mode of writing the infinitive, the Saxon Chronicle, which I often converse with, will shew you most evidently; nor did they ever change it, notwithstanding the Danish invasions, which altered some other parts of their language, till the time of Henry the First, as you may see in that Chronicle, which does not end till the reign of Stephen. In the period I have mentioned the infinitive first terminated in *en*, and went down in our language by a regular descent to the age of Chaucer, after which it seems gradually to vanish, and before Spenser to give place to the present method of writing. In the Geste of King Horn, which is the oldest romance in the English tongue that can be discovered, this form is observed:

“And teche at the lists that thou ever wiftes,  
Before me to kerven, and of my course to serven.”

Near a century after this, in an elegy on the death of King Edward the First, who died in the year 1307, the same infinitive occurs.

“That our kynge hede take on hond,  
To wenden into the holy londe,  
To wynnen us hevenliche blisse.”

In the next age we meet with it almost universally.

Thus in the Plowman's Crede :

“ They prechen all of pardon, to plesen the puple,  
By ensample of our liif, soules to helpen.”

In Chaucer's time the modern infinitive began to be in use, though the old one was still retained. In one of his lines we have them both :

“ This is to say, to *singen* and to *rede*,  
As small children don in hir childhede.”

I had forgot to mention, that in one of the first pieces of poetry in our language, I met with the genuine Gothic termination of the infinitive *an* :

“ Ne bith na man weri  
Heora songestd *heran*.”

However the present method of writing was perfectly established by the reign of Henry the Seventh, as in Skelton, who was poet laureat to that king, we observe not a single instance of the original termination. In Spenser therefore, who lived a century after him, it will be in vain to look for it. I hope you will not think me tedious in what I have said about the descent of the English participle and infinitive from the Gothic and Saxon, as, I believe, you will agree with me, that such grammatical circumstances give the most evident proof of an affinity between languages.

*Fraiw*, the seed ; however different this word may appear from the present *seed*, an attentive observer may still perceive some remains of it in our language ; the Gothic *fraiw* not only

denotes, as here, literally, seed to sow with, but also children, or indeed the young of any thing. Thus it is said we are *frainw Abrahamis*, the seed or children of Abraham. Hence we still say, a *fry* of frogs, a *fry* of fishes, meaning the young of those creatures. Spenser, in his *Fairy Queen*, has made an elegant use of this word :

“ And them before the fry of children young  
Their wanton sports and childish mirth did play ;  
And to the maidens sounding tymbrils sung,  
In well attuned notes, a joyous lay.”

In another passage of the same poet :

“ But now this off scum of that cursed  
Dare to renew the like bold enterprize.”

It is remarkable, that the French verb *frayer* signifies to spawn as fishes do, and the substantive *fray* made from it is interpreted *fratin, petit poisson, fry, young fish*. These, I suppose, must be some of the oldest words in their language, and certainly derived to them from their Gothic ancestors.

Before I finish with this word, I wish you would advert to the Gothic expression I quoted, *we are Abrahamis Frain*, the seed of Abraham. Here is the certain origin of our present Genitive case, which went from the Goths to the Saxons, and from them has descended to us. The learned Bishop of London was undoubtedly very right, when he asserted that the English possessive case terminated in *is*, and was improperly shortened by an Apostrophe ;



trophe; but he would have much strengthened his argument if he had not stopped at the Saxons, but gone up to the fountain head, the Goths, who, as in this instance, wrote *Abrabamis*, of Abraham, so *himinis*, of heaven.

And we have the more reason to be of his opinion, as every declension of the Gothic, of which Dr. Hickes makes fifteen, is terminated in the genitive case by *s*; whereas, in the six declensions of the Saxon, three only have that termination. To this let me add, that the *Franco-Theotiscan*, a sister dialect, or at least the eldest daughter of the Gothic, of which Charlemain composed a grammar, adopts the same termination of the possessive case; as *here* an army, *heres* of an army. The same genius also appears in the Cimbro-Gothic, from which a very great share of our language is derived. *Hujus linguæ genitivus singularis terminatur in s*, says Hickes, as *God Deus*, *Göds Dei*, *beine os*, *beins offis*, *sede semen*, *sædis feminis*, *lamb agnus*, *lambs agni*.

In a very old poem we may see it written properly :

“ Therin was clofyd a nayle grete,  
That went throw our Lordis feet.”

That is, through, the feet of our Lord.

As I am upon grammatical subjects, I shall beg leave to make another observation of the same nature. The Goths, as we may perceive from the *Codex Argenteus*, when they would deny, made use of only one negative; the Greeks and Saxons, by an odd kind of absurdity, used two, nay sometimes three or four, upon that

that occasion ; our language being formed immediately from the Saxons retained their mode of denying for sometime.

“ *Sum raibtis draus faur wig*, Some fell right down *on* or *before* the way”——

*Sum* is so perfectly English, that it must strike you immediately, but *draus fell down* is attended with difficulty, as we have no such verb, nor indeed had the Saxons ; however, I am unwilling to leave it, without making it in some degree subservient to my purpose. What if I should make an English substantive from this Gothic verb ? *Drauffan* signifies *decidere*, to fall down ; from which is formed the noun, *Drus*, *casus*, or *ruina*, *Anglicè* a falling down. Would it be too whimsical then to derive the Saxon *dröfne*, and our *dross*, from this Gothic verb *drauffan* ? Johnson tells us, that the English *dross* is *seculency*, and *seculency* is again interpreted a sediment, or a falling down of any impurity to the bottom of the vessel. This seems to me to be the proper derivation of the word *dross* ; if you know a better, *Candidus imperti, si non, hac utere mecum*.

*Raibtis*, Right. This is an adverb which adds an additional energy to the verb or noun it is connected with. The Goths uniformly used it in that sense : the Saxons adopted it from them ; and we may trace it in our language, from its first institution to the present time.

Thus in one of our earliest metrical romances :

“ And the pryson when he came to,  
With his axe he smote *right* through  
Doors, barrs, and iron chaynes.”

In another composed about the same period :

“ Alle that he hithe he smote down *right*,  
Both Serjeant and Knight,  
Erle and eke Baron.”

It prevailed invariably in every age after ; and at this moment it is no solecism to say, *The seed fell right upon the earth.*

*Faur wig.* Though *faur* here answers to the Greek *παρα*, and our *on*, or *by*, yet in many places of the Codex Argenteus it signifies before, or afore : thus, *faur mel*, afore the time ; *faura thus*, before thee. From *wig* we may easily deduce our *way*, only observing that the Gothic *g* is frequently softened into the *y* or *i* ; thus the Greek word *ωτα* is written *gota*, and *Maria*, *Marga*, with a thousand instances of that nature.

Our earliest writers retained this Gothism. One of them has written *gow* for *you* :

“ And loke that ye in this manere,  
Eche of gow fle his fere.”

So Robert of Gloucester uses the Gothic *get*, for *yet*, and the Saxon *git*, for *it* ; and Chauser sais *agensts*, instead of *against*, and *yeffts*, for *gifts*.

It is observable, that though most of the Northern languages have admitted this word *wig*, they have none of them spelt it with the *i*. The Saxons call it *weg*, the Danes *vei*, the Dutch *weg*, and we *way*.

*Quemun fuglos fretun thata.* From the Gothic *Queman* I have derived in a former paper our verb to *come*, which will appear more evident if you recollect what I have said a little above in regard to the termination of the infinitive mood. *Fuglos*, supposing the *g* either removed or melted into a *y*, easily becomes our fowls; *Fretun*, they eat. Though this verb is lost in our present language, it frequently occurs in our old poetry. Chaucer, in his beautiful description of the temple of Mars, among other pictures of Horror introduces

“ The fow fretting the child in his cradle.”

In the temple of Diana we have this picture:

“ Ther saw I Acteon an hart y maked,  
For vengeance that he saw Diana all naked:  
I saw that his houndes have him caught,  
And Fretten him, for that they knew him naught.”

Gawen Douglass, in his preface to the *Æneid*, describing the force of love, says,

“ Bairs with thare tuskis will frett otheris skyn.”

Though we do not at present acknowledge this original sense, we still retain the figurative one. By fretting we now understand corroding or eating, as it were, the mind by any uneasiness or commotion of temper. Homer has strongly marked this figure in the character of Bellerophon:

Ἦτοι ο καππεδιον το Αληιον οιοσ αλατο  
Ου θυμον κατεδων, παλον ανθρωπων αλειωνων.

Which

Which Tully more literally than elegantly has thus translated :

“ Qui miser in campis mœrens errabat Aleis,  
 “ Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans.”

It is strange that Johnson has put a Latin derivation to this verb *to fret*, as it is both Saxon and Gothic :

*Thate* presents to you our well known pronoun *that*.

You will give me leave, Sir, to go more rapidly over the rest of the verses, as I am afraid I shall be too prolix, and run beyond the bounds which a paper of this kind requires. However, by this cursory view, you may easily perceive the striking affinity between the two languages. Wherever there is any thing worthy of observation, I shall make a longer pause, and communicate to you what I know upon such subjects.

*Anthar*, another ; *draus*, fell ; *ana steinabam*, in or on the stones ; *theira*, there ; *ni habida*, it had not ; *airtha manaya*, many or much earth ; *suns*, soon ; *utran*, it run or sprung up ; *in thizei*, in or for this (cause) ; *ni habida*, it had not ; *diuþaizos*, deepness ; *airthos*, of earth.

*At sunnin urrinnandain*, at the sun uprising or running out. I must stop here to inform you of a particular circumstance relating to this word *sunnin*, after premising that it has its existence in every language of the North. It is observable, that the term for the Sun is of the feminine gender in the German tongue, and that for the Moon in the masculine. This was certainly the case with the Goths and Saxons; and an eminent author assures us, that this particularity prevailed formerly in almost all the dialects of the Gothic language. That famous system of Scandinavian mythology, called the Edda, explains this cir-

cumstance. It tells us, that there was a man named Mundifara, who had two children so beautiful and well shaped, that he called the male Mane, or the Moon; and the female Sunna or the Sun. But the gods being angry at their presumption in taking upon them such sublime names, carried them up to heaven, and obliged the daughter to guide the car of the Sun. As for Mane, he was set to regulate the course of the Moon and its different quarters.

*Ufbrann*, it burnt, or was scorched.

Our English ancestors varied very little from this word *Brann*. In one of our oldest pieces of poetry this is very visible: speaking of the Virgin Mary, it thus celebrates her:

“ Heil *stern*, that never stinteth light,  
“ Heil bush, brennyng that never was brent.”

These lines not only prove my position, but strongly mark that partiality our first writers of verse had for alliteration. From *brann* is derived our substantive *brand*; meaning a lighted stake, which metaphorically became a sword in our earliest romances. “*Ensis*,” says Junius, “*appellatus Brand ab ardore Martio bellorum.*”

“ With helme, hauberke, and brands bright.”

*Unte*, because; that word utterly unknown: *ni habida*, it had not; *wartins*, root. *Wyrte* in Saxon is sometimes *radix*, and sometimes *herba*; and a garden is oddly enough called in that tongue *wyrtetun*. Hence many plants, with some distinguishing mark affixed to them, retain this name among us; as *wall wort*, *bee wort*, *water wort*, *mug wort*, and many others of that class.

*Thaurfnoda*, it became dry, thirsty, withered, ἐξηράνθη. Hence our adjective *thirsty*; and verb, *to thirst*.

*Sums*, some, *daus*, fell down, in *thaurnus*, in thorns. *Thaurnus*, the thorn, *ufarstigan*, grew or rose up; for this verb, vide Archæol. V. p. 350: *jab* and *quapnidedun*, choaked; the same word signifies extinguished; if we cannot make *quenched* from it, I must fairly give it up. The Saxons say *Acwencan*, *Extinguere*, which seems to have some affinity with this Gothic *Quapnan*: *Thate* that, *jab* and, *ni gaf* gave not. This is the imperfect of the verb *gibban dare*; though we have said *gave* for some centuries, our fathers called this imperfect, as the Goths did, *gaf*. Thus in Robert of Gloucester, who wrote in the time of Edward the First,

“ How God gaf him fair chance at the bataile of Caifas.”

To give you a decisive proof that the English must acknowledge a Gothic derivation, I will set before you several verbs of that original language which form their past time by changing their vowel; which irregularity we have also adopted in such a manner as to make the two languages appear absolutely the same:

Bidgan	Orare.	Imperfect	Bad
Bindan	Vincire.	Imperfect	Bund.
Gitan	Acquirere.	Imperfect	Gat.
Bringan	Ferre.	Imperfect	Brahte.
Dringan	Bibere.	Imperfect	Drank.
Braikan	Rumpere.	Imperfect	Brake.

Z z z

Giban

Giban	Dare.	Imperfect	Gaf.
Rinnan	Currere.	Imperfect	Rann.
Sitan	Sedere.	Imperfect	Sat.
Standan	Stare.	Imp. Stoth. <i>th</i> pro <i>d</i> Gothic.	
Swaran	Jurare.	Imperfect	Swor.
Qwiman	Venire.	Imperfect	Qwam.

By this list, to which many other verbs might be added, you will perceive, Sir, that not only the Gothic and English imperfects are equally affected, but that their present tenses are perfectly the same, as *an* is only the characteristic termination of the Gothic infinitive.

*Akran*, corn or fruit. It is only necessary here to observe, that *Akra* which the Goths called corn, the Saxons made the field that produced that grain; and we mean by it only a certain measured portion of that field, *an acre*. *Sums*, some; *draus*, fell down; *in airtha goda*, in good earth; *Airtha*, earth. This word continues pure and unadulterated among all the descendants of the Goths. The Saxons called it *Eorthe*, the Danes at this day name it *Jord*, the Germans *Herda*, the Low Dutch *Aerd*, and the English *Earthe*. All which words are indeed exactly the same, the genius of the Teutonic languages substituting the *th* and *d* mutually for each other. Tacitus, who particularly described the religion and manners of the Germans, tells us, that the *Eartha* in the earliest ages of the world was considered as a goddess, and divine honours were universally paid her. *In commune Hertbam, i. e. terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum arbitrantur*. All antiquity are full of the traces of this worship. The ancient Scythians, the undoubted



doubted ancestors of the Goths, adored the earth as wife of the Supreme God, who with him produced the inferior divinities, men, and all other creatures. They called her Mother Earth, and Mother of the Gods. In this character Virgil has finely represented her :

“ Qualis Berecynthia mater,  
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,  
Læta Desim partu, centum complexa nepotes,  
Omnes Cælicolas, omnes super alta tenentes.”

Our Spenser was full of this idea, when he calls her,

“ Grandmother magnified  
Of all the Gods, great Earth, great Chaos' child.”

The Scandinavian Scalds, whose imaginations were rude, and consequently their figures far fetched and remote, described the Earth by various expressions, chiefly drawn from their mythology. They called her the spouse of Odin, the flesh of Ymer, the daughter of the night, the vessel which floats on the ages, and the foundation of the air.

*Goda*, good. This adjective makes its appearance in every dialect of the North ; but in no other European tongue. It is the genuine child of the Goths, who named the Supreme Being by it, calling him, as we at this day do, *God*.—*Deum*, says Junius, *perennem bonitatis fontem, Teutonicæ linguæ authores God dixerunt, à God bonus*.—The Saxons assumed the same word from the same idea. *Nys nan man God lutan God and*, there is no one good but *God* alone ; as we have it in their translation

of the Gospel. I must not however conceal from you, that Paulus Diaconus, who wrote *De Rebus Longobardarum*, assigns another derivation for GOD. I need not inform you that Odin or Wodan was the Supreme Deity of the Scandinavians, and that his memory was in such veneration, that the descendants of that people do at this present distinguish one day of the week by his name. The Saxons called it *Wodensdag*, the Icelanders *Wonsdag*, the Swedes *Odinsdag*, the Low Dutch *Woensdag*, and the English *Wednesday*. Odin, therefore, says Diaconus, *quem adjecta litera Godin dixere, ab universis Germaniæ gentibus ut Deus adoratur*. But sure the former derivation, given by Junius, is greatly to be preferred. *Fab* and, *gaf* gave, *akran* corn or fruit. *Utrinningdo*, running out or springing up. Our English verb *to run* is frequently written in old English with an *i*, *to rin*. *Fab* and, *wasgando* waxing or increasing. From the Gothic *washgan*, we have the Saxon *weaxan*, the Danish *voxen*, the German *wachsen*, the Low Dutch *wassen*, and the English *wax*; all signifying to increase. *Fab* and, *bar* bare, or brought forth, *ain* one or some,  $\lambda$  so much, *ain* one G. so much, *ain* R. so much.

*Bithe*, when; *warth*, he was or became. *Wairthian* and the Saxon *Weorthian*, both signify *feri*, to be, or become, and answer to the Greek verb  $\Gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , the Codex Argenteus always rendering  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\omicron$  by *warth*. This word prevails much in our early language, as may be seen in Percy's collection. Gawen Dowglas, whose speech more abounds with Saxon than any English writer, frequently uses it.

“While in their dry throats the ayand *warth* scant.” *i. e.*

“While in their dry throats their breath *became* short.”

I must

I must observe to you, that in the Franco-Theotiscan language, of which we have copious remains as far back as the eighth century, the verb *wertbenſto* prevails much in the same manner as the Gothic *waitbian*. Thus in the Gospels of Orſind of Weiſſenberg, who, by the bye, was the first known rimer in any of the vulgar European dialects, we have this expression, *Kue wuartb thi Hierusalem—vae tibi Hierufalm*; which an modern Yorkſhireman would interpret, *Wa wurthe thee, O Jeruſalem*. There is not a more general expression among the common people in Yorkſhire than *woe-wortb thee*, *malum fiat tibi*; and in the Weſt-riding, in the true ſpirit of Gothiſm, they ſay, *woe warth thee*.

*Sundro*, ſeparated, or alone. The Saxons ſaid, *on ſundran*, and we *aſunder*. This requires no further illuſtration.

*Twalif*, the twelve. The Saxons, Danes, Swedes, Ice-landers, Germans, Low-Dutch, and English, all partake of this Gothic numeral. As the true nature of this word does not immediately occur to every one, you will excuſe me if I give a ſhort explanation of it. All nations in numbering counted up to ten, which was their ultimate point; they then began again, and proceeded to another *decade*, and ſo on. Thus among the Greeks, *δέκα, ένδεκα, δωδεκα*. In Latin, *decem, undecem, duodecem*. *Twalif* then is a diſyllable compoſed of *twa*, two, and *lif*, which is our *leave* or *left*; ſo that the word means, two that are left or remain above the firſt ten that is numbered. In the ſame manner our eleven and the Saxon *endluſon*, ſignify one remaining above that number.

*Frebun*, inquired, asked. From the Gothic *frachnan*, the Saxons made *frægnan*; the Germans ſay at this day *fragen*, in the ſame ſenſe, and the Dutch *vragen*. We alſo were acquainted.

acquainted with this verb some centuries ago; but if it is not quite obsolete at this time is a matter of doubt, though Somner says it obtains in Lancashire. Robert Longman, who flourished about 1350, thus introduces it:

“ Thus rol'd in ruffet I romed about  
 All a former feason for to seek Dowell,  
 And freynd (that is inquired) full oft of folks that I met,  
 If any wight wist where do well was at June.”

Gawen Dowglas again:

“ And all enragit gan after harnes frane.”

i. e. ask for arms.

*Quath*, he says; from whence the old English *quoth*; *lm* to them; *lst gibban*, it is given; *izwis* to you, vide *Archæologia*, vol. V. p. 350.

*Kunnan*, to know; hence the Saxon *cnawan* and our *know*. Many branches have spouted out from this root. *To con*, *to ken*, *cunning*, and the French *connoisseur*, now incorporated into our language.

*Runa*, the mysteries or secrets. Upon this word a great deal of learning is displayed by Wormius, Junius, Hickes, and other writers of Scandinavian literature. It is only material to my purpose to observe, that as it originally signified a mystery or secret, so did it descend to us with that idea annexed to it. *To rowne* is in all our poets to whisper a secret. Thus Chaucer:

“ Another rowned to his felaw low.”

Gawen Dowglas translates this expression of Virgil:

“ *Idem ita fata ad aurem.*”

“ And

“ And in his trusty ear thus privily  
Rounes” – that is, whispers.

From the notion of that secrecy with which matters of importance are debated upon, and determined, this word *runa* is also used in the Codex Argenteus as an assembly of persons met together in consultation, *concilium*. It is somewhat extraordinary, that Junius, who professedly wrote upon the English language, when explaining this Gothic verb, should mention a plain in Lombardy, formerly called Rungalle, which he interprets *Curia vel concilium Gallorum*, and should forget the celebrated Running-mead in England, so called from that famous assembly of the king and barons, where affairs of an important and publick concern were determined. Lambarde, who wrote in Queen Elizabeth's time, gives a proper derivation of that name. “ The place, says he, is called *Runemed*, from a publick consultation held there; for *Runian* in the Saxon speech, which was not then so much forgotten, signifieth to consult or talk together, which word, continues he, is not yet clean gone, for we say that men rounde together, when they whisper or talk softly one to another.”

I am, &c.

Isleworth, Nov. 28, 1788.

W. DRAKE.



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A P P E N D I X.

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AT A  
COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY

OF  
ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776.

RESOLVED,

That such curious communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire* be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archaeologia.



Nov. 22, 1787.

**M**R. LYSONS exhibited an urn taken out of a tumulus or barrow, in a field called *Inlands*, near *Hazleden*, in the parish of Rodmarton and county of Gloucester, in the year 1779. It was deposited in the centre of the tumulus, in a pentagonal cell about two feet five inches in depth, formed by five large hewn stones, over which was placed another very large stone to secure it.

The tumulus from the top of it to the level of the field in which it stood was somewhat more than ten feet in depth, and consisted of fine black earth mixed with wood ashes, except a stratum of rubbish twenty inches in depth from the top. In the urn was a considerable quantity of ashes and burnt bones.

Another smaller tumulus adjoining to the one above mentioned was also opened at the same time, in which the urn was not deposited in a cell, but buried in the earth, so that it could not be taken out entire. Such parts as could be preserved of it were exhibited, from which it appears to have been of the same kind as the preceding.

Dec. 13, 1787.

Ancient vessels and instruments of sacrifice discovered in the year 1785, by the falling in of the vault of an aedicula adjoining to the walls of a temple in the lower part of the antient Præneste; and exhibited to the Society by Charles Townly, Esq.

A Cista Mystica, of a cylindric form, ornamented with various figures relative to the Eleusinian mysteries.

A vase, with handles formed of figures of Pans.

Another vase, with handles terminating in escallop shells.

A large basin, with handles, and the usual rising ornament in the centre.

A Patera, ornamented with mystic figures ; the handle formed of a figure of Isis.

A Sympulum ; the extremities of the handle formed of two swans' heads.

A Spoon : the handle of which is composed of a dolphin and a rudder.

A sacrificing knife.

Two Crotalæ.

A small tripod, to contain fire.

Three Armillæ.

A figure of Mars, armed.

May 8, 1788.

Mr. Lyfons exhibited a small bronze figure of Diana, belonging to Mr. Walter Hill of Gray's-Inn ; and found some years ago at *Weston under Penyard*, near Ross, in Herefordshire.

May 22,

Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq. V. P. exhibited a beautiful coloured drawing of a window in the parish-church of *Brereton*, one of the oldest in the county-palatine of Chester ; but the date of it is not exactly known \*. In the lower compartments are four figures representing the four persons who slew Thomas Becket at the high altar in Canterbury cathedral, 1170. They are in complete armour, with drawn swords in their hands, and on pendant scrolls are inscribed their names ; William Tracy, Richard Britton, Reginald Fitzurse, and Hugh Morrel. A fifth figure, exactly corresponding with these, in the centre compartments, bears, on the like scroll, these words, *Martyrum Thomam*. In three compartments of the upper division of the window are two ~~priests~~ *Saints*, and between them a figure episcopally habited, most probably intended for Becket himself. Under

\* See Pl. XXIII.





Ricardus bruto nec non



martelij hugo scittun traci



Reginald filij hici martirum thoma leri scere beatum anno milleng centeno septnageno

A Window in Brereton Church, Cheshire.

Wapre So.

Lest this mouiment in glase beinge in yopper Window of the Northe Side the Chauncell  
of Breton Churche shoulde be broken, f S Willm Breton knight, fto the and hit may  
remayne in memorie to the posteritie, have caused the same to be heare purtred the  
xxv<sup>th</sup> of Marche 1608.

W. BRETON





the five lower figures, after their names are these words, intended for two hexameter lines:

**Martyrium Thomam fieri fecere beatum  
Anno milleno centeno septuageno.**

Under these the following inscription represented in the opposite page:

“ Lest this monument in Glase being in the upper window of the North syde the chauncell of Brereton church should be broken, I Sir Will'm Brereton, knight, to the end hyt may remayne in memorie to the posteritie, have caused the same to be heare purtred, the 25th of Marche, 1608.

W. Brereton.”

Sir William Brereton, who signs the writing, was lord of the manor, and built a noble house close to it in 1579. He was the son of that William Brereton who was one of the persons put to death by king Henry VIII. as a pretence for his charge against his queen Anne Boleyn.

This Sir William was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made one of her Gentlemen Ushers. An original picture of him, with the Queen's head on the front of his cap, is now in the possession of Owen Salusbury Brereton, esq.

May 29.

The hon. Daines Barrington exhibited a seal lately found near Dunster Castle, in Somersetsshire. It represents a monk on his knees before the Virgin and Child. The inscription round it,

**PHILIPPI SCELERÆ DILVE XPIFERA.**

The last word to be read *Christofera.*

It probably belonged to some of the priors of the Benedictine priory founded at Dunster by William de Mohun or Moion, first lord of Dunster, in the time of William the Conqueror; of which see Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, p. 476.

Samuel Wegge, Esq. Treasurer of the Royal Society, exhibited a bronze figure of Mercury lately dug up in *Richborough* castle, Kent.

June 5, 1788.

The bishop of Carlisle exhibited a curious Roman eagle in steel, supposed to have been a military ensign, and found lately at *Silchester*, by the Rev. Mr. Powis, rector of that place.

Governor Pownall communicated an account of a Roman vessel nearly entire found in the area of *Lincoln* castle, May 9, three feet and an half below the surface of what appears to be the natural rock, and fourteen feet below the present surface. It is of black pottery, and one side of it is excavated in several places as if by lying in contact with some corrosive matter, because such damage could not happen by violence without the whole vessel being destroyed\*. Another fragment of a Roman vessel found in the rubbish of a Roman building in *Lincoln* castle had been apparently gilded, and was of a different earth from any the Governor had seen.

A labourer digging a ditch in a field near *Rotbly Temple*, in *Leicestershire*, about five miles North of *Leicester*, 1784 or 5, found among fragments of stone and lime, about two feet below the surface, a cross plated with silver and gilt, and having behind it a needle and hook, as if to fasten it to a garment: at a

\* See it Pl. XXIV. fig. 3.

few yards from it some coins of Constantine, and a circular piece of metal, perhaps part of a fibula. At the distance of sixty yards from the spot was a tessellated pavement, a square of about four feet, and within a foot of the surface of the ground, formed of limestone cubes of different colours, which soon after being exposed to the air changed to grey." Extract of a letter from Thomas Babington of Rothley Temple, Esq. to Sir Joseph Banks, bart. dated June, 1788.

Mr. J. Usher, in a letter to General Melville, from Gloucester, relates that single Roman coins of no great value are daily pickt up there; and in some gravel pits found by half a dozen at a time, in turning the gravel, but in general much corroded; that he found a Gordian in middle brass in high preservation. The workmen had come to a vallum or ditch, about ten feet deep, entirely filled up, wherein were found bones of men and horses, a few coins, mostly defaced with rust. Such as were legible were four in large brass of Claudius. Reverse,

OB CIVES SERVATOS.

ANTONIA AVGVSTA.

CERES AVGVSTA.

Vespasian. Reverse, a female figure standing with a crown in one hand, and the fasces in the other. Small brass: VRBS ROMA, the wolf and twins.

A radiated head. Reverse a horse standing on his hind feet. Another, FIDES AVGVSTA.

Several pieces of urns and rusty iron, two fine fibulæ, and a shell, one fibula enameled with blue varnish, and not unlike some in Montfaucon, III. p. 29: fig. 4. from Beger.

A stilliard, with two fulcra, and graduated on the corresponding sides : but of the antiquity of this Mr. Usher doubts.

At the depth of nine feet were found fourteen fluted beads, half an inch in diameter, and pierced.

The ditch abovementioned seemed to have inclosed a spot of ground on which stood a very antient building, whose abutments thirty or forty years ago were three or four feet above ground, supposed by the inhabitants to have been a palace of the Merician kings, but by Mr. Usher a Roman fort, being situate exactly at the termination of the Fosse-way from Cirencester to Gloucester ; and close to it remains a very fine spring.

Sir Henry Englefield gave a beautiful drawing from a capital, from the ruins of St. Mary's abbey at York, (see Pl. XXIV. fig. 1.) on which he observes, " few of the ornaments of our Gothic buildings can lay claim to originality ; this fragment is however an exception ; and the idea is not only new, but highly graceful. The waving foliage which runs up the hollow moulding is evidently taken, though not very exactly, from the ivy, whose tendril, at the height of the capital, quits its former situation, and winding over the plain bell of the capital, invests it with a foliage as natural, as new, and almost as graceful as the Acanthus on the basket of Callimachus. The exquisite beauty of the young shoots of ivy twining round the mouldings of an ancient building, must have struck the most careless eye ; but this is believed to be the only instance of its being applied to ornamental architecture, and it has a most pleasing effect. I will just add, that the small remnant of this building, which has escaped the merciless hands of the limeburners, shews it to have been one of the most elegant edifices in this country, both in its design and execution."

May

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

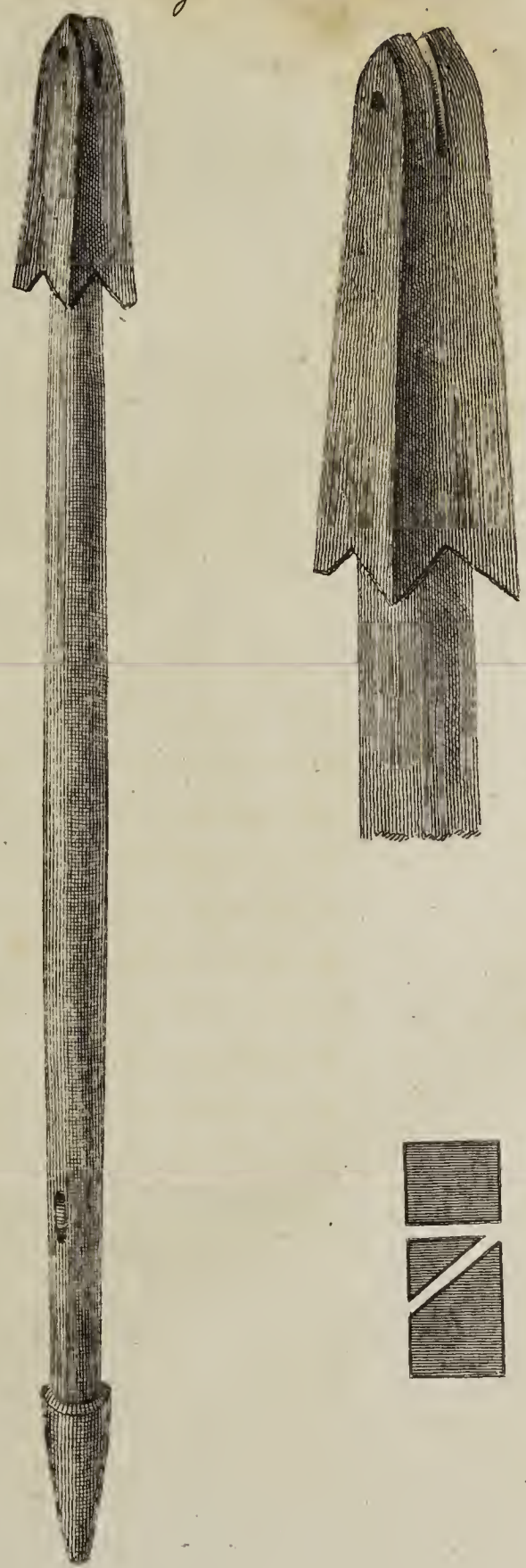
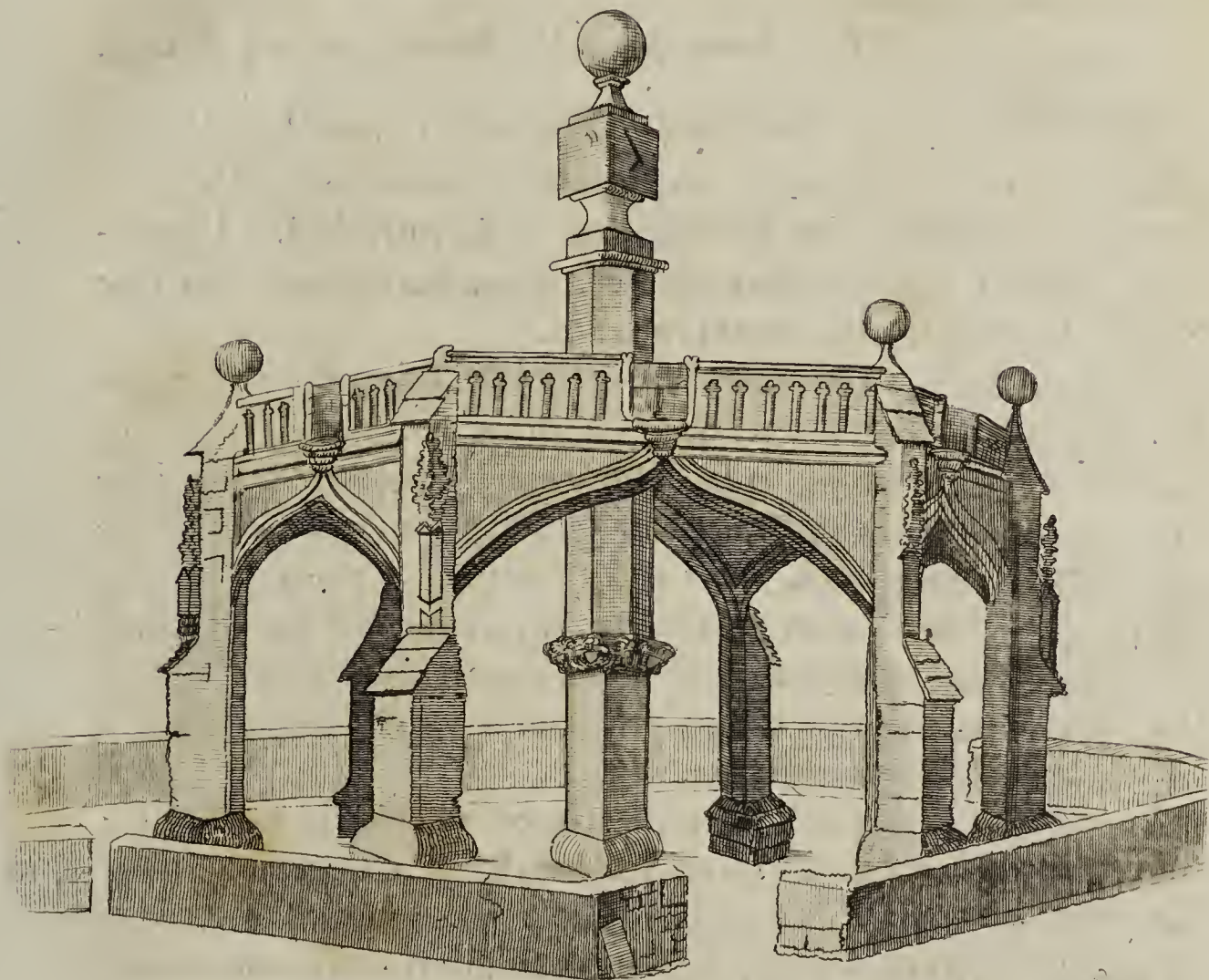


Fig. 3.







May 14, 1789.

“ Amongst the friends of Wykliffe was an Earl of Salisbury,  
 “ who for contempt noted in him towards the sacrament im-  
 “ carrying it home to his house, was enjoined by R’adulph  
 “ Ergham, bishop of Salisbury, to make in Salisbury a cross of  
 “ stone, in which all the story of the matter should be written,  
 “ and he every Friday during his life to come to the cross barefoot  
 “ and

“and bareheaded in his shirt, and there upon his knees to do penance for his fact.”

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani, in vitâ Ric. II.

The only public stone crosses known to have been in Salisbury, are, the poultry cross, the cheefe cross, Bernard's cross, and the cross before the western door of the cathedral. I apprehend neither could answer the description here given, but that which is now called the *poultry cross*.

This cross in its present state is but the ruin of what it originally was, having been abridged of its original height; for if an architect examines it but a moment, he will observe, that the termination of the top with a ball and sundial, and the flat roof covered with lead, are totally foreign to the rest of the design, and that all that part which was intended for the cross itself is totally destroyed; yet if we may judge by the style of the lower part which remains, it must formerly have been a beautiful piece of architecture.

Its form is hexagon; over each arch remains a niche for a statue, though reduced to half its height by the demolition of the upper part. It was probably thus far demolished about the time of the Reformation, an age so hateful to images and crosses, or perhaps it might have been in a ruinous state, and therefore taken down. However it be, it seems for the sake of convenience and situation to have been repaired and converted to a market for poultry, greens, &c. and the sundial on the top added for the convenience of persons resorting to it. In the center of this cross underneath, there still remains a pillar cut towards the top into six sides, which appear once to have had a superscription. They are supported by six demi-angels bending forward,



ward, each holding a shield, the arms defaced; tis worthy of remark, that each of these sides faces the open part of each arch, so that a person standing on the outside might read any thing written thereon. If we refer to the above quotation it says, "all the story of the matter was written (not *on* but) "in the cross."

It is next remarked, that such a penance as this, to come and kneel before the cross in the open air every Friday in the year, in the heat of summer, and in the frost and snow of winter, barefooted, bareheaded, and in his shirt, and this during the whole period of his life, was a most rigid and unmerciful sentence against a nobleman of such high birth, for so comparatively small an offence. The bishop must have had other reasons stronger and more substantial for thus degrading a Montacute, which I shall endeavour to explain; first observing however, that the person here meant was not the Earl of Salisbury, he being about the king's person, and in high favour at the court of Richard the Second, nor would Ergham have ventured, whatever his pique might be, to have proceeded so rigorously against a favourite of the king's; neither do I suppose the earl could well be a resident at Salisbury so as to offend by carrying the sacrament home to his house; besides we find that his country residence was (when could quit the court) at Christ church Twynam, at which place his will is dated 20th April 1397.

But the person here meant was certainly John de Montacute, the nephew and heir to the then Earl of Salisbury, whom he afterwards succeeded; and the reason principally which rendered him so obnoxious to the bishop is given us by Dugdale, Walsingham, and Holinshed. "This is that John de Montacute (says  
Dugdale)

Dugdale \*) who was one of the *chief* of the sect called Lollards, and the greatest fanatic of them all, being so transported with zeal, that he caused all the images that were in the chapel at Schenele (Shenly in Buckinghamshire) that had been there set up by the ancestors of his wife to be taken down and thrown into obscure places, only the image of St. Catharine, in regard that many did affect it, he gave leave that it should stand in his bakehouse." Ergham was at that time one of the most zealous men against the Lollards or Wycliffites; a few years before, he had summoned Wycliffe himself to make answer before him at Oxford (anno 1382); but he was supported by so many great men, among whom this Montacute was one, that he escaped the rage of the bishop, who therefore took every opportunity of mortifying and degrading his supporters and adherents. As to the time of this offence, it must have happened before September 1388, for then Ergham was translated to the rich see of Wells, and this matter must have been compromised before 1392, for in that year (15 R. II.) according to Dugdale, this John obtained license from the king to travel with ten servants and ten horses into Prussia, where at that time the Teutonic knights were making war on the infidels of Lithuania under the sanction of the Pope. He must therefore have commuted for this offence, and his penance have been moderated on condition of his going to fight against the enemies of the cross. This compromise was probably some time in bringing about; for the earl his uncle withdrew from court from 1382 to 1392 the year his nephew went into Prussia, after which he became as great at court as before. Ergham, though bribed with a very rich bishoprick, seems to have been very backward

\* Bar. I. 650.

in mitigating the penance. This John upon his return from Prussia, in 1393, was called up to the House of Lords, (probably to wipe off the late disgrace) and sat there as Lord Montacute. His father appears to have been a resident at Salisbury, and by his will dated at that place 30th March 1388, he appointed that if he died any where out of London he should be buried in Salisbury cathedral between two pillars, in a plain tomb with the image of a knight thereon, with his helmet under his head, and the arms of Montacute on the side of the tomb, which corresponds with the tomb now in being in St. Mary's chapel adjoining to that of Longspee. He had another son (Thomas) then Dean of Salisbury, and one other named Simon, from whom are descended the Dukes of Manchester and Montague, and the Earl of Sandwich.

That this John continued, however, in his attachment to the opinions of the Lollards, appears in Fox's Book of Martyrs, Vol. I. p. 580. "In the 18th year of King Richard (1395) the king hastened over from Dublin into England for fear of an insurrection against him (which he was taught to expect) of the Lollards, and at his return he called unto him Richard Sturie (Sturmie of N. Wilts) Lowys Clifford, Thomas Latimer, *John de Montacute*, William Neville and others, whom he did sharply rebuke and terribly threaten, for that he heard them to be favorers of the new doctrines, charging them straightly, never to hold, maintain, nor favor any more those opinions and conclusions, &c."

Walsingham says, that this John Earl of Salisbury died at last in these opinions.

*Salisbury, January, 1789.*  
VOL. IX.

HENRY WANSEY.

C c c

"N. B.

“N. B. Since the above was written Mr. Alderman Cooper of Endless-street informed me that many years ago he was told by an old gentleman of this town, that the poultry cross was built by a nobleman by way of penance, with this difference; that he understood it was by one of the *Stourton* family. H. W.”

May 14, 1789.

Mr. Bray exhibited the weapon engraved pl. XXIV. fig. 2. which was dug up a few years ago in the camp at *Danbury* in Essex. It is of solid bone, polished very smooth, fourteen inches long; the head is three inches long, shaped and barbed like an arrow, the sides flat, slightly grooved, differing a little in breadth, ending in a blunt point, in which is a slit to receive an iron fastened by one pin running through it. Part of this iron was in it when found; but has been since lost. The body is round, tapering towards the other end, and terminating in a point. Near the small end, on one side, are two holes which meet in the body, and come out in one on the other side. In these there was, when found, a small piece of a leather thong.

On Baddow-hall common, a small distance from *Danbury*, five celts were found by a labourer a few years ago. One of them weighed eight ounces, was near three inches and an half at the broad end, and six inches in length. Remnants of other things have been found there; but it is not known that any of them have been preserved.

Dan-

Danbury camp, of an irregular figure inclining to an oval, about five acres and an half, is still very visible; the banks are plainly seen on three sides of it. Mr. Morant, in his History of Essex, vol. II. p. 27. 30. gives a plan of it; but says no more than that this place was a strong hold of the Danes, and that on the top of the hill are remains of an antient camp.

Whether it was formed by the Danes at the time of their attempt on Malden, A. D. 921. or at an earlier period, cannot be ascertained; but there can be no doubt that it was used by them on that occasion.

It is on a high hill (a situation which they often made choice of) about three miles on the right of the road leading from Chelmsford to Colchester, and commands a very extensive view of the country every way, looking to the river Blackwater, which runs up to Malden, to Mersey-island, to the river Crouch, the Swin, Foulness, The Narrows, The Hope, and a part of Kent. The three camps abovementioned are within view of it.

That the Danes infested Essex, as well as other parts of the kingdom, is well known. They seem at times to have been in possession of the whole of this county. In 882 Alfred surprized, and took, and destroyed sixteen of their ships in the port of Harwich. In 914 the greatest part of Essex submitted to Edward the Elder, and he lay encamped at Maldon. In 921 the Danes took Colchester and killed all the people in it; but made an unsuccessful attack on Malden. Canute has left his name at Canewdon, a village standing on a small eminence above the river Crouch next Rochford; a little to the East of the church remains of a camp have been traced, though now almost

almost lost; and in it some urns have been dug up. About six miles West of this at a place called Rayleigh are some considerable banks on the West, or South West of the street, on the brow of an eminence. Mr. Morant says, that Suene, who was, as he thinks, a Dane, built a castle here; which is all that is known of this place. About ten miles still more West are said to be remains of another camp on a hill called Laindon-hill, between Billericay and Tilbury, commanding a view of the Thames.

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		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
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20.	Coins of K. Henry VIII. Edward VI. Q. Elizabeth, and K. James I. Also a portrait of Q. Elizabeth, from a painting in enamel.	0	1	0
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28—33.	The Baron's Letter in the reign of K. Edward I. Feb. 12, 1300, to Pope Boniface VIII; with the seals appendent.	0	6	0
34.	An antique brass head dug up at Bath in 1727.	0	1	0
35, 36.	Three views of Colchester castle in Essex, with the Ground Plot.	0	2	0
37, 38.	Tables of English gold and silver coins, shewing the several species coined in each reign.	0	3	0
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Numb.		Price.		
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